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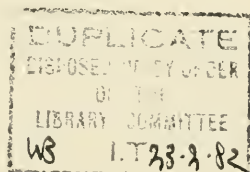
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CORRIGENDA.

- p. 30, line 22, *for* Elton in Huntinglonshire *read* Etton in Northamptonshire.
p. 33, line 3, *for* thecendants *read* descendants.
 line 4, *for* desseration *read* consecration.
 line 5, *for* cony *read* they.
p. 54, line 21, *for* Shedland *read* Studland.
p. 64, line 13, *for* HHoldenley *read* Holdenby.
p. 138, 3 lines from bottom of page, delete comma between Newton and Jerpoint.

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BISHOP IN THE ACT OF ANOINTING A CONSECRATION CROSS.
(Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 18,143, fo. 55b.)



CONSECRATION CROSSES AND THE RITUAL CONNECTED WITH THEM.¹

By the REV. E. S. DEWICK, M.A., F.S.A.

In the present paper I propose to treat of the consecration crosses which were painted or carved on the walls of our old churches, and were solemnly anointed with chrism by the bishop who performed the ceremony of Consecration or Dedication. Crosses of this kind must once have been common enough in England, but the hand of time has been gently but surely engaged in obliterating them, successive coats of whitewash or yellow-wash have concealed not a few, and during the last sixty or seventy years the "restorer" has been actively at work, destroying some and falsifying others by the substitution of new work.

The attention of English ecclesiologists has been directed to these crosses from time to time, but the accounts given in our popular handbooks are meagre and sometimes misleading. Without attempting to go fully into the bibliography of the subject, I may notice that Mr. John Gage (afterwards John Gage Rokewode) called attention to these crosses in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries in 1833.² He refers to the crosses on altar-stones, and also to the crosses "once inlaid with metal, cut in the external walls of some churches," which he thinks "were intended to mark the spots anointed with chrism." It is curious that he speaks only of external crosses, for of the four churches which he enumerates, Salisbury cathedral, Edington in Wilts, Cannington in Somersetshire, and Brent Pelham in Herts,³ at least two have also internal crosses. He

¹ Read before the Institute, 6th March, 1907.

² The Anglo-Saxon Ceremonial of the

Dedication and Consecration of Churches, *Archaeologia*, xxv, 235.

³ *Ibid.*, 243.

adds that "on one of the Norman pillars in New Shoreham church are two Jerusalem crosses probably graven on the occasion of the Dedication."¹

The *Handbook of English Ecclesiology*,² includes a brief notice of dedication crosses, in which only one addition is made to the short list given by Mr. Gage. It is stated that "in England they would appear generally to have been on the outside, abroad in the inside." We shall find in the sequel that there are plenty of English examples on the inside walls as well as on the outside, but that the *Handbook* seems to be right in confining those abroad to the inside walls.

Bloxam³ gives examples from five churches, but refers to them as if they were found on the external walls only. Pugin⁴ refers to examples of external crosses at Salisbury and Uffington, but he does not venture to go further than to say that he is "inclined to believe from the fact of their being outside the church, that the external walls were anciently anointed in this country." His knowledge of modern Roman ceremonial had made him familiar with crosses on the inside walls, and he was not easily convinced even by the evidence of crosses on the external walls that they, too, were actually anointed with chrism.

There are numerous notices of consecration crosses scattered about in various archaeological journals,⁵ but the only paper specially dealing with them which has come under my notice is one by the late Dr. J. H. Middleton⁶ in which he has described examples of these crosses from some thirty churches, and has given illustrations of many of them. This paper is of great value for the descriptions of crosses actually in existence in English churches, but it does not include any detailed account of the rubrical directions found in English Pontificals with regard to the crosses. This is my excuse

¹ On two recent visits to the church, I failed to find these crosses, even with the help of the sexton, who told me that he had never seen or heard of them.

² Published by the Ecclesiological, late Cambridge Camden Society, London, 1847, p. 264.

³ *Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 11th ed., 1882, ii, 155.

⁴ *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament*, 3rd ed., 1868, p. 97.

⁵ See especially *The Ecclesiologist*, xii, 154; *Norfolk Archaeology*, vii, 186, 352; *Archaeological Journal*, xlv, 56; *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, xliii, 220-248.

⁶ *Archaeologia*, xlviii, 456.

for bringing up the subject again, and I may add that whilst Dr. J. H. Middleton's examples are largely drawn from the West of England, my own will mostly be taken from other parts of England or from Scotland.

I propose to commence with a history of the ritual connected with the crosses. When the peace of the Church was established by Constantine, churches began to be built and solemnly set apart and consecrated for divine service. At first there was an entire absence of the elaborate ceremonial which distinguished the later service of consecration. Eusebius tells of the consecration of several churches in the first half of the fourth century. From his accounts we gather that the early churches were consecrated by the solemn performance of divine service in the presence of as large a congregation as possible. The attendance also of a large number of bishops was invited. When the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem was consecrated in A.D. 335,¹ the bishops assembled at the council of Tyre were summoned to attend, and they came in large numbers. We read of the prayers offered and the discourses delivered on this occasion, but there is no record of any ceremonies or symbolical rites.

Between the fourth century and the eighth there grew up a complicated set of ceremonies for the dedication of churches.² They consisted of the lustral sprinkling with holy water of the external and internal walls of the church, of the thrice-repeated knocking at the door by the bishop, of the *abecedarium* or writing of the Greek and Latin alphabets in two lines of ashes strewn on the floor of the church in the form of a St. Andrew's cross, of the consecration of the altar, and of anointing with chrism the walls of the church.

The greater part of these ceremonies, with the important exception of the *abecedarium*, is common to the rituals of both the Greek and the Latin Church, and must, therefore, be dated back to a time before their

¹ Smith and Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, art. "Consecration of churches."

² See Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, Paris, 1889, 385-403; Dr. John Wordsworth, bishop of Salisbury,

On the Rite of Consecration of Churches, Church Hist. Soc., 1899; Smith and Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, art. "Consecration of churches."

formal separation in the eighth century.¹ This is confirmed by the evidence of documents.

I will now confine myself to the last of the ceremonies which have been enumerated, and, after examining the written directions in English Pontificals, it will be possible to see how far the crosses which remain on the walls of our churches agree with the rules laid down in the books.

The earliest English Pontifical which has survived the accidents of time is that which bears the name of Egbert, archbishop of York (A.D. 732–766), and which is known to us by a copy made in the tenth or eleventh century. In the order for the dedication of a church contained in this book, there is no mention of any crosses painted or carved on the walls, but the bishop is directed, before completing the consecration of the altar, to make crosses with his thumb dipped in chrism on the walls of the church.² This anointing appears to have been applied to the internal walls only, and the rubric does not define the number of the anointings, nor does it give the words to be used by the officiant, but only the anthem which was to be sung.³ The outer walls as well as the inner were sprinkled with the mixture of salt, ashes, wine and water, known as Gregorian water,⁴ and twelve lighted candles were placed around the church on the outside before the ceremony commenced.⁵

The Missal of Leofric, bishop of Exeter (1050–1072) now in the Bodleian Library, consists of a Gregorian Sacramentary, written in Lorraine in the early part of the tenth century, with later additions. The book was in use in England, and may, therefore, be noticed here. The manner of dedicating a church is briefly described, and the direction is given that the walls of the church, the pillars and the doorway are to be anointed with the same chrism as the altar.⁶

¹ In 729 Pope Gregory II. excommunicated the Emperor Leo, which led to the great schism between the Eastern and the Western Churches.

² Deinde in circuitu ecclesie per parietes de dextra in dextro faciens crucem cum pollice de ipso chrismate. *The Pontifical of Egbert, Archbishop of York*, Surtees Society, 1853, p. 40.

³ O quam metuendus est locus iste, vere non hic alius nisi domus Dei, et porta celi. *Ibid.*, 40.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁶ Angulosque ecclesie et postes ostium eadem unzione linientur. Sequitur antiphona. *Unxit te dominus oleo letitie.* (*The Leofric Missal*, ed. F. E.

The next Pontifical to be considered is one belonging to the end of the tenth century and known as *Pontificale Lancaletense*, because although its script points to Winchester as the place where it was written, it afterwards belonged to a bishop of Alet, now St. Malo in Brittany. It is now in the public library at Rouen. In the *Ordo ad dedicandam Basilicam* of this Pontifical the directions for anointing the walls are nearly the same as in Egbert's, but we are supplied with the words to be used when anointing them.¹

A further development of the ritual is found in a Pontifical written at Winchester about the end of the tenth century, and now known as the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert. Like the last mentioned, it is now in the public library at Rouen. In this Pontifical the officiant is directed to go outside the church after anointing the internal walls, and to anoint the external walls.² The anthems *O quam metuendus* and *Lapides preciosi* are appointed to be sung at the internal and external unctions respectively. On the other hand, the Pontifical known as that of Dunstan, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, has only one anointing, apparently of the internal walls.³

The Ramsey Pontifical,⁴ written about the end of the eleventh century, orders the anointing of the external as well as of the internal walls, and gives an alternative

Warren, Oxford, 1883, p. 219.) The exact meaning of the above is not quite clear. I have ventured to understand *anguli* as meaning the walls of the church, on the strength of a passage in the *Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, ed. H. A. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society, p. 97, in which the twelve candles of the Dedication ceremony are ordered to be placed *terni et terni in iii^{or} angulis ecclesie*. Here *anguli* apparently means the four walls of the church, not its four corners. Cf. Ducange, *Glossarium*: "Angulum pro Cingulum, Ambitus, Gall. Enceinte. Charta Philippi comit. Flandr. ann. 1211, ex Cam. Comput. Insul. 'Omnes qui ghildam habent et ad illam pertinent et infra Angulum villae suae manent liberos omnes facio.'"

¹ Deinde in circuitu ecclesie per parietes a dextro et a sinistro faciens crucem cum pollice de ipso chrismate dicens. *Sanctificetur hoc templum per*

istam unctionem et nostram benedictionem in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. I quote from Mr. John Gage's print of the *Ordo* in *Archaeologia*, xxv, 259.

The anthem is: *O quam metuendus, followed by: Lapides pretiosi omnes muri tui et turres Hierusalem gemmis edificabuntur*.

² Tunc demum presul egrediens hoc ipsum extra cum crismate in circuitu ecclesie faciat. *Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, ed. H. A. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1903, p. 86.

³ The *Ordo qualiter domus Dei consecranda est* has been printed in Martene, *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, Venetiis, 1783, ii, 255.

⁴ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 28,188. For a description of this manuscript, see W. H. Frere's *Pontifical Services*, Alcuin Club, London, 1901, i, 96, 97.

anthem to be sung at the anointing of the external crosses if the church should be built of wood.¹

The English Pontificals of the twelfth century require the anointing of the external as well as of the internal walls, and it is now expressly ordered that the anointing is to be done in twelve places. The rubric of the Magdalen College manuscript² closely follows that of the Benedictional of Robert,³ and the Ely Pontifical⁴ does the same.

In the thirteenth century we come across numerous complaints that the consecration of churches had been neglected by the bishops. The difficulties and dangers of travel and the great fatigue of the actual ceremony⁵ seem to have combined to deter many prelates from undertaking the duty of hallowing churches. At any rate the higher powers endeavoured to force the unwilling bishops to perform this duty. The constitutions of Cardinal Otho in 1236⁶ regretfully set forth that many parish churches, and even some cathedral churches, had remained without consecration, and it was ordered that all should be consecrated within two years. Again, in 1268, the Constitutions of Othobonus⁷ renewed the complaint, and enacted that any bishop called upon to consecrate a church and deferring the performance of the duty for more than a year, unless excused by the excessive number of churches requiring consecration, or by other legitimate cause, should be deprived of the use of dalmatic, tunicle and sandals, and not be allowed to resume the use of them until actually engaged in the service of dedicating the

¹ If the church was of stone, the anthem was *Lapides preciosi*, as usual, but if of wood (*si vero lignea fuerit*) then the anthem was *Vidit Jacob scam*. . . .

² I am indebted to my friend the Rev. H. A. Wilson, librarian of Magdalen College, for a transcript of the words: "Deinde circumeat intus ecclesiam per parietes incipiens a sinistro angulo orientis faciens crucem cum pollice de ipso chrismate in xii^{cim} locis." The second rubric, relating to the external crosses, is the same as in the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert. (See above, p. 5).

³ MS. 226.

⁴ Cambridge University Library Ll. 2, 10.

⁵ With regard to a recent consecration of a church in England after the Roman manner, I have been told that the service occupied no less than six hours, from 8.30 a.m. to 2.30 p.m. In this case only one altar was hallowed. It must be remembered too, that fasting was enjoined upon the officiating prelate.

⁶ Printed at the end of various editions of Lyndewode's *Provinciale*, and in Wilkins' *Concilia*, i. 649.

⁷ *Tit.* 3. See Lyndewode and Wilkins, ii, 3.

particular church which had been the cause of the deprivation.

Similar efforts were made in 1239 by Cardinal Otho in Scotland to enforce the consecration of churches; and on the fly-leaves of the Pontifical of David de Bernham, bishop of St. Andrews (1239-1253),¹ we have a most interesting record of the activity of one bishop in response to this appeal. During the fourteen years of his episcopate he dedicated no less than one hundred and forty-four churches, the years of his greatest activity being 1242, when he hallowed forty-one churches, and 1244 when he performed the same office for forty. In some cases the churches had been long awaiting consecration. For example, the well-known Norman church of Leuchars, in Fifeshire, was not consecrated before August, 1244.

The quickened activity of the bishops in consecrating churches finds a counterpart in the greater precision of the rubrics in the Pontificals of the thirteenth century. In David de Bernham's book it is ordered that twelve crosses are to be painted on the outer walls and the same number on the inner,² ready for unction by the bishop, and both sets of crosses are to be censed after the anointings. In the Coventry Pontifical³ it is further said that the words of consecration are to be repeated at each of the twenty-four crosses. The Pontifical of Anian, bishop of Bangor (1267-1305), is said to follow the Coventry Pontifical very closely, but I have not had the opportunity of examining it.

Of the fourteenth century we have the Pontifical of De Martivall, bishop of Salisbury (1315-1329), but unfortunately it does not contain the office for dedicating a church.

In the British Museum there is a manuscript (Lansdowne MS. 451), which was originally written for a bishop of London about the end of the fourteenth or

¹ The manuscript is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and has been edited by the Rev. Chr. Wordsworth under the title, *The Pontifical Offices used by David de Bernham, bishop of St. Andrews*, Edinburgh, 1885.

² Hæc sunt quæ ad dedicationem

ecclesiæ præparanda sunt. Duodecim cruceæ pictæ foris et duodecim intus. *Pontifical Offices used by David de Bernham*, 1.

³ Cambridge University Library, Ff. 6, 9.

the beginning of the fifteenth century.¹ This manuscript has a feature of especial interest, inasmuch as it describes two modes of consecrating a church, the Roman and the Anglican. A long rubric describes the Roman manner, for which it was necessary to have painted beforehand on the four internal walls of the church twelve red crosses at equal distances, with twelve branches of iron for twelve large candles.² For the English manner (*modus Anglicane ecclesie*) it was required that there should be twelve painted crosses on the outside and twelve on the inside.³

The Pontifical of Lacy, bishop of Exeter (1420–1455), was given by his executors to the cathedral church, where it is still preserved. It agrees with the Pontificals we have lately been considering in ordering the anointing of twelve crosses on the outside and twelve on the inside, and adds the direction that the crosses are to be within circles,⁴ and that the branches for the candles are to be fixed to the upper part of these circles. An English Pontifical of the same century in the Bodleian Library,⁵ has rubrics in almost identical words.

In the University Library at Cambridge,⁶ there is a fine and complete fifteenth-century Pontifical, which Maskell used extensively for his *Monumenta Ritualia*, and which he considered to be written for a bishop of Salisbury, but the late Henry Bradshaw has written upon a fly-leaf the word “Lincoln.” The preliminary rubric of this Pontifical agrees closely with that of Lacy, but the rubric for the anointing of the crosses adds

¹ The Pontifical of Richard Clifford, bishop of London (1407–1421), now in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, closely agrees in its contents with Lansdowne MS. 451. It has the most complete set of illuminations of any English Pontifical. They have been reproduced in W. H. Frere’s *Pontifical Services*, Aleuin Club, London, 1901.

² Depingantur in circuitu ecclesie introrsus per quatuor parietes duodecim cruce rubee eque distantes iuxta quas affigantur duodecim uncin ferrei quibus imponantur duodecim candelae grosse. Lansdowne MS. 451, fo. 115.

³ Hec sunt que ante dedicationem preparanda sunt, scilicet duodecim cruce pietate deforis duodecim deintus cum cereis vel candelis. Lansdowne MS. 451, fo. 115b.

⁴ Provideatur . . . quod xii cruce depingantur in circulis in parietibus infra ecclesiam, et xii deforis : et xxiiii cereoli et totidem clavi ferrei, figendi in superiore parte circulorum in quibus dicti cereoli figantur. *Liber pontificalis of Edmund Lacy, bishop of Exeter*, ed. Ralph Barnes, Exeter, 1847, p. 11.

⁵ Tanner MS. 5.

⁶ Mm. 3, 21.

that the anointing of these was to commence near the altar.¹

The last of the English Pontificals to which I have occasion to refer is one which was used by Cardinal Bainbridge, archbishop of York (1508–1514), though it was not originally written for him. In this, again, we have the two sets of crosses,² with detailed directions that, after the anointing, the officiating bishop is to cense the twelve crosses on the interior walls of the church, and that afterwards, while the bishop remains seated inside, a deacon, with some of the clergy, is to go and cense the twelve crosses on the outside.³

We have evidence that twenty-four crosses and candles continued in use in England in the sixteenth century. A late entry on the fly-leaf at the end of Bishop Halam's register at Salisbury, gives a list of "thynges that been necessary for the halowing of a churche," and we find in it "Item xxiiij wex candelles everych of .i. foote longe or more"⁴ (evidently for burning before the twenty-four crosses). Again, James Calfhill, in his *Answer to John Martiall's Treatise of the Cross*,⁵ when drawing a contrast between the simplicity of church hallowing in the time of St. Augustine, when they needed no more than a sermon and prayers, or at the utmost "the sign of a cross with a finger," goes on to enumerate the things required for a church consecration in modern times, ending up with "twenty-four crosses, twenty-four

¹ Deinde inchoata antiphona, *Lapides*, eat pontifex in circuitu ecclesiæ intus et faciat crucem cum pollice suo de ipso chrismate, in duodecim locis signatis cruce introrsus, incipiendo juxta altare ad meridiem a dextris, ita dicens in qualibet unctione. *Sanctificetur hoc templum* . . .

Postea pontifex egrediens hoc ipsum extra eum chrismate in circuitu ecclesiæ, choro canente antiphonam. *Unxit te Dominus oleo lætitiæ præ consortibus tuis*. (Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1882, i, 220).

² Hæc ad ecclesiæ dedicationem sunt necessaria. Duodecim cruces piæ foris et duodecim intus; viginti quatuor cereoli et totidem clavi quibus cereoli infigantur, duodecim foris et duodecim

intus super singulas cruces. (*Liber Pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge*, Surtees Society, 1875, p. 53.)

³ "Delinc episcopus a sinistro orientali angulo ecclesiæ inchoans singulas cruces de chrismate in circuitu incenset . . . Tune levita, sumpto thuribulo de ecclesia (cruce, candelabris et textu præcedentibus) cum parte cleri exeat, et duodecim cruces a præsule in circuitu ecclesiæ deforis cum chrismate factas incenset; præsule interim in ecclesia cum quibusdam residente," *Ibid.*, 74.

⁴ Chr. Wordsworth, *The Precedence of English Bishops*, Cambridge, 1906, p. 24.

⁵ Printed in 1565. I quote from the reprint issued by the Parker Society in 1846, p. 208.

candles." On the other hand, Thomas Becon, in describing the ceremony of church consecration, speaks of the twelve crosses on the walls which the bishop must anoint "with chrisme, commonly called creame."¹ Here Becon is describing a consecration after the Roman manner, following Durandus, whom he cites as his authority.

The results of an examination of the English Pontificals may now be briefly summarised. The earliest up to the eleventh century prescribe the anointing of the inside walls only, the only exception being the Pontifical of Archbishop Robert, which orders the anointing of both inside and outside walls. These early Pontificals agree in making no mention of painted crosses prepared on the walls ready to be anointed. From the end of the eleventh century, the English Pontificals order external as well as internal anointings, and in each case the anointing is to be in twelve places, and it is not unlikely that these places would be marked beforehand by crosses. In the thirteenth century we find the mention of the painting of crosses on the walls as a necessary preliminary for consecration, and a little later it is ordered that the crosses are to be red, and to be placed in circles, with branches for candles above them. I think it is highly probable that some of these directions were embodied in practice before they found their way into the written books.

We have already seen that one English Pontifical (Lansdowne MS. 451) refers to the Roman mode of consecrating churches, which was presumably sometimes followed in England; and it may be interesting to compare the rubric in the printed Roman Pontifical of the sixteenth century.² Mention is made of twelve crosses on the inside walls only. The height of the crosses from the ground is defined as ten palms (about

¹ Becon, *The Reliques of Rome*, London, 1563, fo. 256.

² Item depingantur in parietibus ecclesie intrinsecus per circuitum duodecim cruces, circa decem palmos super terram, videlicet tres pro qualibet ex quatuor parietibus. Et ad caput cuius-

libet crucis figatur unus clauus, cui affigatur una candela unius uncie vel circa. Scala vel aliud edificium super quo ascendens pontifex possit attingere ipsas duodecim cruces. *Pontificale secundum ritum Romanum*, Venetiis, Giunta, 1520, fo. 108r.

7½ feet), and a ladder or some other structure is to be provided so that the bishop may be able to reach the crosses. The woodcut which accompanies the rubric shows the bishop on a ladder¹ in the act of anointing one of the crosses (see Fig. 1). The same is also



FIG. 1.—BISHOP ANOINTING A CONSECRATION CROSS.
From *Pontificale Romanum*, Venetiis, 1520.

well seen in an illumination of the Gospel Book of Philip de Villiers de Lisle Adam, Grand Master of the Hospitalers from 1521–1534,² reproduced in Plate I. The crosses are painted on oval medallions, ready for the bishop's anointing. They are crosses potent between four crosslets, *or*, the field of the medallions being alternately blue and red. Of course, these colours are purely conventional. Apart from the tinctures, the arms are those of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

All manuscripts of the Roman Pontifical with which I am acquainted agree with the printed book of 1520 in mentioning internal crosses only; and the same holds good with regard to the arrangement of it by Durandus, bishop of Mende, which was adopted by many Gallican bishops, and formed the basis of the later editions of the Roman Pontifical.

The *Ordo Romanus*, which has been made known to us by Hittorp's print,³ largely influenced the Gallican

¹ In the later illustrated editions of the Roman Pontifical, a platform on wheels, with steps at each end, is generally substituted for the ladder.

² Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 18,143, fo. 55b.

³ *De Divinis Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Officiis*, Paris, 1624, p. 127.

and Anglican Pontificals of the eleventh and three following centuries. It defines the position of the places to be anointed as being on each of the four interior walls.

The various Dedication Orders in Gallican Pontificals, of which many have been printed by Martene in his great collection,¹ follow Roman use in having only the internal crosses, and, without going further into details, I may say the same of many manuscripts both in the British Museum and in private possession. There is, however, one remarkable exception in Martene's *Ordo viii* (by a misprint *vii*) taken from a Narbonne Pontifical assigned to the eleventh century. In this the bishop is directed to anoint the inside walls on the right side, and then on reaching the west door, to anoint the lintel and two door-posts *or else the whole of the outside* of the church, and then, after making the round of the church, to re-enter and finish by anointing the internal walls on the left side of the church.² I have not met with any other non-Anglican Pontifical which directs the anointing of external walls.

I bring to an end this brief notice of foreign forms of consecrating churches by observing that the earliest which is known to us seems to be that in the Sacramentary of Angoulême,³ assigned by M. Delisle to the end of the eighth or the commencement of the ninth century.⁴ In this the directions for the crosses are similar to those in Egbert. The bishop is to mark the walls with crosses of chrism (*per totum templum in circuitu faciens cruces de ipsa chrysmo*).

The Milan Pontifical, assigned to the ninth century, recently edited by Dr. Magistretti, has similar directions, but defines the number of anointings as twelve.⁵

There is also an Irish tract concerning the mode of

¹ *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, Venetiis, 1783, ii, 240-284.

² Postea unguat pontifex parietem in dextra parte templi cum chrysmo signum crucis faciendū, donec perveniat ad ostium . . . Episcopus regrediens extrinsecus signat superliminare et utrumque postem chrysmate, sive totam ecclesiam exterius. Cum autem introgressus fuerit, peracto exteriori ecclesiæ

circuitu, signet crucis signaculo chrysmate interiorem templi sinistram partem usque ad specular orientale. (Martene, *loc. cit.* 266.)

³ Printed in Duchesne's *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, Paris, 1889, p. 464.

⁴ *Memoire sur d'Anciens Sacramentaires*, Paris, 1886, p. 91.

⁵ *Pontificale in usum Ecclesiæ Mediolanensis*, Milan, 1897, p. 9.

consecrating a church, which has been brought to light by the late Rev. T. Olden.¹ It occurs in the famous *Leabhar Breac*, which was the compilation made about the end of the fourteenth century by an Irish archaeologist, who was anxious to preserve the scattered relics of the native literature. The manuscript was published in facsimile by the Royal Irish Academy in 1876, but we are indebted to Mr. Olden for providing us with a printed text with the abbreviations expanded, and also a translation. The age of the tract is doubtful, but the rite described differs so much from the Roman that it may be very early. The account is extremely confused, and it is difficult to get an exact idea of the nature of the ceremonies. But one point stands out clearly, that the bishop was to cut crosses with his knife on the pillars and other parts of the church, which crosses are afterwards to be sprinkled with holy water.

With regard to the cult of these crosses which had been anointed with the sacred chrism, very little can be said so far as England alone is concerned. Indeed, I have not been able to find any directions on the subject in English books, not even in the minute rules about candles and lights in the smaller Customary of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, belonging to the library of Caius College, Cambridge,² which has a section entirely devoted to the question of lights on different festivals. I have, however, found mediæval directions on the subject in a manuscript Customary of a house of Augustinian Canons in the north of France written about 1500. In this it is distinctly laid down in the chapter relating to the duties of the sacristan that twelve candles on the walls of the church are to be lighted at vespers and mass on the annual festival of the dedication.³

There is also a similar rule in the *Consuetudines* of the

¹ *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, iv, 98, 177.

² This has been printed as an appendix to Sir Edward M. Thompson's edition of the *Customary of the Benedictine Monasteries of St. Augustine, Canterbury, and St. Peter, Westminster* (Henry Bradshaw Society, 2 vols.,

1902 and 1904). The account of the lights at St. Augustine's occupies pp. 268-289 in vol. ii.

³ "In dedicatione ecclesie ad vespas et maiorem missam duodecim cerei in parietibus accenduntur." MS. *penes me*, fo. 38.

Canons of St. Victor of Paris, adapted to the use of the monastery of St. Evurtius.¹

In other Customaries there is merely a direction that candles are to be lighted on all the altars of the church at the annual festival of the dedication, and nothing at all is said about lighting candles on the walls before the twelve crosses.

In later times it was distinctly ordered by the church of Paris that candles should be lighted on the festival of the dedication before the crosses anointed by the bishop,² and the custom still holds in some parts of Switzerland, and elsewhere. In such places painted crosses are generally renewed when a church is re-decorated, but in England, even before the Reformation, the crosses seem to have been treated with neglect, for they were often concealed by furniture, or destroyed in making additions to the buildings.

I now pass on to the symbolical meaning of the crosses and candles as explained by mediaeval ritualists, and instead of summarising the explanations of Remigius of Auxerre³ and Durandus, I shall avail myself of the account ready to hand in Caxton's translation of the *Aurea Legenda* which closely follows the latter :⁴

"Ye crosses ben paynted in y^e chyrche : & y^t is for thre causes. The fyrst is to fere y^e devyll for whā they haue ben put out/ they ben a ferde & dare not entre/ for they doute & drede moche y^e sygne of y^e crosse : And herof sayth Crysostome. In what place they shall see the sygne of the crosse they shall flee. For they drede the staffe of wyche they have ben hurte. Secondly fer to shewe y^e sygne of y^e victorie of Ihesu cryst : for thyse crosses ben sygnes and baners of Ihesu cryst and of hys victorie. and therefore ben there paynted y^e crosses for to shew y^t y^e place is diuine subget to god : & also it is of custome to emperours and to other prices that whan a towne or cytee is takē or yolden for to set up wythyn y^e baners & thensignemens of y^e lordis to sygnefye y^t is subget to theȳ. Thyrdly⁵ for to represent

¹ "In dedicatione duodecim [cerei] per parietes ecclesie." Martene, *De Ant. Eccl. Ritibus*, Venetiis, 1783, iii, 264.

² *Dum cantatur officium, ante duodecim cruces ab Episcopo inunctas ardent totidem cerei, et super quodlibet altare duo cerei.* (*Cæremoniale Parisiense . . . Cardinalis De Noailles . . . Archiepiscopi Parisiensis . . . consensus editum.* Parisiis, 1703, p. 146.)

³ Printed in Martene, *De Ant. Eccl. Ritibus*, lib. ii, cap. 13.

⁴ I quote from the edition of Wynkyn de Worde, 1498, fo. xxxvii verso.

⁵ The "Golden Legend" really omits the third reason for placing crosses on the walls, which is thus given by Durandus in his *Rationale*, lib. i: "Tertio ut earum inspectores christi passionem quae suam ecclesiam consecravat et passionis fidem ad memoriam

thappostles it is used for to set up .xii. lyghtes : tofore the crosse for to represent y^e .xii. apostles/ whyche by y^e fayth of god crucefyed/ they enlumined all y^e worlde."

It is now time to look at the crosses themselves. One of the most complete sets is at the cathedral church of Salisbury; the Use of which served as a model to other churches in England, and enjoyed no small fame even in foreign countries. I have already noted with regret the absence of a Dedication Service which can be referred with certainty to a bishop of this diocese, and it is, therefore, all the more satisfactory to be able to see what was actually done at Salisbury. The crosses have already been described and figured by Dr. J. H. Middleton,¹ and my account of them will be as brief as possible. They are so important that I cannot afford to pass over them in silence.

Eight crosses remain at Salisbury on the outside of the choir and transepts, and the same number on the inside.² Of the former, seven consist of crosses quadrate in the centre with trefoiled extremities, *botonnée*, incised into the stone; and the stumps of metal pins, generally sixteen for each cross, show that the indents were once filled with metal crosses, probably of latten. They are enclosed in a quatrefoiled circle of stone in relief. (Plate II.) The eighth cross is not incised, but is of stone set in the middle of richly carved foliage. About 3 inches below each cross there is a hole by which a metal branch was attached to the wall to hold a candle, which was lighted

reducant." And then he adds, "Duodecim vero luminaria ante cruces ipsas posita significant xii apostolos qui per fidem crucifixi totum mundum illuminaverunt." Compare the Sarum sequence of the Common of Apostles: "Hi sunt candelabra ante Deum lucentia." So also the *Gemma Anima*: (Hittorpius, *De Div. Cath. Ecc. Off.*, 1,220) regards the unconsecrated church as the heathen world ignorant of God ("gentilitas Dei ignara"), and the lighted candles as the twelve apostles. At the Sainte Chapelle, Paris, the consecration crosses are carved on roundels held in hands of full-length standing figures of the twelve apostles; but I do not know how far these are really mediæval or merely "restorations" of Viollet-le-Duc. A coloured illustration of one of the figures may be

seen in Paul Lacroix, *Les Arts au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1869, p. 402.

If the inside candles represent the twelve apostles, the twelve candles on the outside would be taken to symbolize the twelve prophets. Compare the rubric in the Sarum Breviary prefixed to Feria V, in Cena Domini: "xxiii candelæ ante altare præparentur juxta numerum duodecim prophetarum et duodecim apostolorum."

¹ *Archæologia*, xlviii, 458.

² In *Archæologia*, xlviii, 463, Dr. Middleton has given a plan of Salisbury cathedral showing the position of the consecration crosses, and another is furnished by the Rev. Chr. Wordsworth in his *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, Cambridge, 1901, p. 72.

on the day of the dedication. As regards the position of the crosses, there are three on the external buttresses at the east end, one on the north-east transept, and two on each of the greater transepts. The west front of the church has been much "restored." There is now no cross in the gable of the central doorway, but there are marks of one in each of the gables of the doorways leading to the aisles. Dr. Middleton regarded them as modern forgeries; but after careful examination I am disposed to regard the one on the north side as genuine. The stone is much decayed. There are traces of an indent for a metal cross, which would appear to have been fixed by twelve pins, instead of by sixteen as in the case of the crosses at the east end. The stone of the gable of the doorway on the south has perished to such an extent, that the details of the cross can no longer be distinguished.

The interior crosses, as far as they remain, correspond in position with the external crosses, but differ from them in being enclosed within a painted circle of black and red, instead of a stone circle. Their height above the floor is about 7 feet 6 inches, and they measure more than 2 feet across the arms. No crosses are to be seen on the north or south walls of the nave, so that the choir and transepts would seem to have been consecrated first with their complete number of nine crosses on the east, north and south walls; the remaining three crosses may have been on a temporary wall at the west end.

The crosses on the choir and transepts were doubtless anointed in 1225. Then when the nave was completed, six new crosses were probably added at the west end, and these must have been touched by the thumb of Archbishop Boniface when he re-consecrated the church in 1258, as recorded in the old Martiloge Book at Salisbury cited by Leland.¹ Dr. Middleton thought that the eighteen older crosses would have been anointed again on this occasion,² but this is doubtful, if we take account of the mediaeval dislike to repeating unction.

¹ "Nova Ecclesia Sarum dedicata fuit a^o 1258 a Bonifacio archiepiscopo Cantuar. presente Rege et Regina tempore Egidii episcopi." (*Itinerary*

of John Leland, ed. Thomas Hearne, 3rd ed., Oxford, 1769, iii, 95.)

² *Archaeologia*, xlviii, 458.



CONSECRATION CROSS ON BUTTRESS AT EAST END OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

Showing matrix for metal cross, and sixteen marks of pins for securing it.
Below is a hole for fixing a metal branch to hold a candle.



Of the crosses on the inside at the west end, one remains over the central doorway at a height of about 15 feet from the ground. It is painted, and not incised for receiving a latten cross like the older ones. Modern inner porches conceal the places where we should expect to find the two other crosses of the west end.

At Uffington, Berkshire, there is an almost perfect set of external crosses.¹ The church, which is cruciform, was built in the thirteenth century, and has remained till our day with very little alteration. Just below the string-course on the outside, at the height of 7, or $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the ground, there are several sunk circular panels, exactly 1 foot in diameter, set in a frame of deeply moulded stonework 4 inches wide. On each of these sunk panels there are remains of five pins by which metal crosses, of which the outlines may be seen in some cases, were secured.² There are three at the east end, the same number at the west end, and one on the south side of the chancel, one on each end of the transepts, and one on each side of the nave. Thus there are eleven still remaining, and the missing one on the north side of the chancel is accounted for by the building of a sacristy, which has, however, now disappeared, though the weather moulding remains as a proof of its former existence. The walls of the church are covered with rough-cast, so that it is not possible to see where the branches for candles were placed. Of the interior crosses there is nothing to be seen. They were probably painted on the plaster of the walls.

At Edington church, in Wiltshire, which was consecrated in 1361 by Robert Wyville, bishop of Salisbury,³ there is an almost complete set (lacking one only) of the twelve internal crosses, whilst two only are wanting out of the full number of the external ones.⁴ The church is cruciform, and the crosses occupy the same position as at

¹ Described in 1851 in the *Ecclesiologist*, xii, 154.

² The pins appear to have been of iron, and as there are no indents for receiving latten crosses, it is possible that the material of the crosses was lead, which may, perhaps, have been gilt, like the leaden stars on the ceiling of the chapel at Hampton Court Palace.

³ See a paper by Mr. C. E. Ponting on Edington church in *Arch. Journ.*, xlv, 43, where the crosses are noticed.

⁴ Curiously enough, Dr. Middleton speaks only of "two crosses carved in stone, under west windows of aisles." *Archæologia*, xlviii, 463.

Uffington. They are incised into the ashlar of the walls, at the height of about 7 feet from the ground, and the remains of metal pins prove that the indents were once filled with crosses of metal. When I visited this church in the spring of 1906, I saw, to my horror, that one of the indents on the south inside wall of the church had been filled with a modern piece of brass as a memorial tablet, and that another at the west end had also been filled up, thereby falsifying the history of these indents.

We accordingly find that both at Salisbury and at Edington in that diocese, the crosses were not painted on the walls, but were composed of metal, probably of latten.

The use of metal may, perhaps, be explained by the desire to avoid the unseemly greasy patches which are sometimes to be seen on the walls of a church recently consecrated in the Roman manner. If the crosses were of metal they might have been wiped dry after the anointings, by means of tow or *bombyx*, which would afterwards have been burnt. The preliminary rubric in the Roman Pontifical, which relates to the preparations for a consecration, does, indeed, mention two pounds of silk for wiping the crosses anointed on the walls,¹ but this is not sufficient to remove the appearance of grease when the anointing is applied to stone or plaster.

The three sets of carved crosses just described are probably the most perfect which remain in England. In Salisbury cathedral and Edington church it is evident that they once complied exactly with the rubrical directions in being twelve on the outside and twelve on the inside, distributed by threes on each of the four walls. As the crosses were of metal, they could not have been painted red to obey the rubric, but it is possible that those of latten were enamelled.

It is rarely that such complete sets of crosses remain as those described above. In some cases only two or three have survived the accidents of time and of rebuilding.

In Exeter cathedral church the lower part of the old south wall has been incorporated in the later fourteenth-

¹ "Duae librae bombycis pro extergendis crucibus in parietibus ecclesiae."



[CONSECRATION CROSS ON SOUTH SIDE OF EXETER CATHEDRAL, WITH ANOTHER
UNFINISHED BELOW.

century aisle, and two crosses of the thirteenth century remain on the older work. They are carved on the ashlar masonry, and are about $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the ground. Two feet below the westernmost of the crosses there is another cross, roughly blocked out and unfinished (Plate III.) Possibly it was abandoned because it was not at a sufficient height above the ground.

In some cases the crosses are no longer *in situ*, but have been saved when the church, or a portion of it, has been rebuilt. At Stoke Prior, in Worcestershire, a single incised cross of the consecration type has been built into the north wall of the nave. At Kildale, in Yorkshire, three carved crosses were saved when the church was rebuilt in the last century. Two are now inserted on each side of the porch, and a third is built into the wall of the churchyard.¹ At Foscott, near Buckingham, there is a carved cross shown in a drawing by Mr. Buckler² which appears to be of the consecration type.

I now proceed to notice some painted crosses of which we have very perfect examples close at hand in Westminster Abbey. When the church was re-consecrated in 1269, after its rebuilding by Henry III., crosses were unquestionably painted on the walls as ordered by the rubrics of the thirteenth century, but no traces of these can now be seen. The important addition at the east end of the church, known as Henry the Seventh's Chapel, was consecrated separately, as if it were a church complete in itself; and in the inside of this we have at least nine crosses still remaining. On the south wall of the south aisle there are three red crosses within circles about 4 inches in diameter, evidently limited in size by the rich panelled decoration. (See diagram, Fig. 2.) They are about 8 feet from the ground, almost the exact height prescribed by the Roman rubric. In the centre of each there is a round hole about an inch in diameter, which in most cases has been plugged with wood; and about 20 inches below there is another hole of similar size, also plugged with wood. The plug in the centre of each cross was perhaps used

¹ For knowledge of the Kildale crosses I am indebted to Mr. W. H. St. John Hope.

² Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 36,358, fo. 161b.

for fixing a metal disk or cross, and the hole below was certainly intended for fixing a metal support for the candle which was lighted before the cross at the dedication.

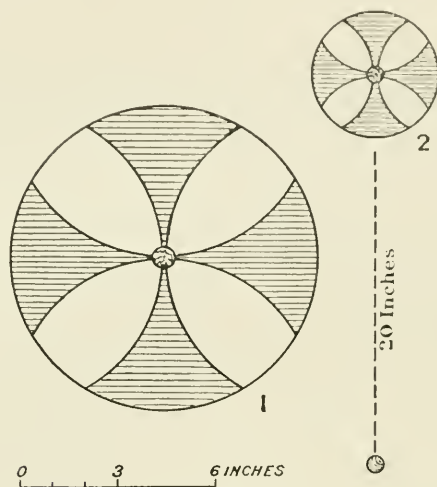


FIG. 2.—CONSECRATION CROSSES IN HENRY THE SEVENTH'S CHAPEL.

1. Cross at the west end of the chapel.
2. Cross in the aisle, showing the position of the hole for fixing a metal branch.

On the north wall of the north aisle there are three similar crosses; and on the ashlar at the west end where there is no panelling there are three much larger ones, about 10 inches in diameter and at about the height of 20 feet from the ground. In order to anoint them, the officiating prelate must have made use of a ladder to reach them, as prescribed in the Roman Pontificals. There are no holes below these western crosses, but the candlesticks placed before them may well have stood about 5 feet below on the stone shelf supported by angels.

The crosses at the east end are no longer to be seen, but at the east end of each aisle there is a hole, at the same height from the ground as those below the crosses in the aisles, which probably marks the position of a branch for a candle below crosses which have now disappeared. If this be so, we have accounted for eleven out of the twelve crosses which were required by the rubric.

The outside of the chapel was refaced about the beginning of the last century (1807-1822), and all original detail was ruthlessly swept away. Nothing, therefore, can be said about the external crosses. It is not impossible that the consecration was performed in the Roman manner, without crosses on the outside.

It is seldom that a church offers such a complete set of painted crosses as Henry the Seventh's Chapel. But in many cases a few remain, sometimes only one or two.¹ At Arundel, in Sussex, five internal crosses remain, and these, on principles of symmetry, are sufficient to show that the nave alone had three crosses on each of the south, west, and north walls.²

A large proportion of the painted crosses have arms of equal length, of a form which could be easily drawn by compasses, and are contained within a circle, the colour of them being nearly always red.³ This type is shown in the Westminster crosses of Fig. 2. The early ones, such as those at Chaldon and elsewhere are generally plain. Later crosses become more elaborate, as at Darenth in Kent, at Holy Trinity, Cambridge, where the red cross is encircled with a green garland, and at Worstead and other places in Norfolk.⁴ The simple form, however, was used from time to time even for late crosses, as we have seen at Westminster. Occasionally the crosses have unequal arms, and are placed within oval medallions, of which there is an example at Upton Grey, Hants.⁵

In the rubrics of the later Pontificals we have seen

¹ The index to Mr. C. E. Keyser's most useful *List of Buildings in Great Britain and Ireland having Mural and other Painted Decorations* (3rd ed., London, 1893), gives a list of no less than 79 churches with painted crosses. My own notes have references to nearly 170 English churches, including some in which the crosses are carved or incised and do not now show traces of paint. This list is obviously incomplete, and I should be glad to receive additional examples.

² In addition to the internal crosses at Arundel, there are on the outside of the west end two patches of plaster on the flint facing, on which it is not unlikely that crosses were painted, though no traces of colour now remain. Several

churches in Norfolk, such as North Repps, Catfield and Orington, had patches of plaster on the outside walls for receiving the twelve consecration crosses; but I am afraid that most of them have disappeared under recent "restorations." See *Archæologia*, xlviii, 458; and *Norf. Arch.*, vii, 352.

³ On the development of this type of cross out of the Chi-Rho monogram, see J. Romilly Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, London, 1887, p. 94.

⁴ Sometimes texts were added, such as "Adorabo ad templum sanctum tuum domine," which is found at Norwich, St. John de Sepulchre (see *Norf. Arch.*, vii, 352).

⁵ I am indebted to Mr. G. C. Druce for a photograph of one of these crosses.

that it was directed that the iron branches for tapers should be fixed in the upper part of the circles containing the crosses.¹ In many cases it is not now possible to see where the branch was fixed. At Salisbury and Westminster it was certainly below the cross. In other cases there is a hole in the centre of the cross which may have been for the attachment of the branch² or as at Westminster for fixing a small plate of metal to receive the unction. In the inside of Chichester cathedral church on the east wall of the north choir aisle there is a plain incised cross, 5 inches in height, immediately above which there are remains of 8 metal pins, arranged in a circle 10 inches in diameter, which seem to have supported a metal sconce for a candle.³

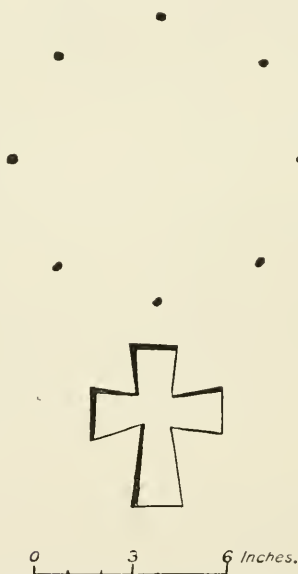


FIG. 3.—INCISED CROSS IN CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.
Showing marks of metal fixings for a sconce above it.

¹ "In superiore parte circulorum," Lacy. "Super singulas cruces," Bainbridge.

² In some churches of Switzerland the branches now in use for candles are fixed in the centre of the cross. I have noticed examples at Hospenthal, Ilanz, Fluelen, Zermatt, Visp, and elsewhere; but very often the branches are fixed below the crosses, and rarely above them.

³ Dr. Middleton regarded the pins "as if for the attachment of another metal cross, added probably on the occasion of the second consecration." *Archaeologia*, xlviii, 460. According to Professor Willis, the cathedral was consecrated in 1199, and as far as we know, the building was not afterwards sufficiently altered to require a "second consecration." See Willis, *Arch. Hist. of Chichester Cathedral*, 1861, p. 23.

(Fig. 3). In this case the position of the light agrees with the rubrical direction of the later Pontificals. There is another similar cross at Chichester at the east end of the south choir aisle, but, I think, without the circle of metal pins; and there is a third on the outside on the south wall of the choir.

Having described some normal examples, I proceed to notice some cases which offer peculiarities. At Ottery St. Mary, where Bishop Grandison commenced his work of reconstructing the church in or about 1337, there are thirteen crosses on the outside, whilst six remain on the inside. Here they are plain crosses, about 3 inches across the arms, carved in stone, borne by half-length figures of angels, placed within quatrefoiled circles, enclosed in square panels; the sides of which measure about 20 inches¹ (Plate IV). Immediately below the angels there are traces of iron stumps, being all that remain of the branches for candles. The number of crosses is not normal. On the outside there are only two at the west end, whilst there are five on the south side. They have all suffered much from the weather, but they have not been "restored." On the inside the "restorers" are probably responsible for the destruction of half of the original set, and those which remain are not in genuine condition. Some of the panels are inserted into Bishop Bronescombe's work of the thirteenth century. Evidently, the church was so much altered and rebuilt that it required re-consecration, as prescribed by Durandus in his *Rationale*.

On the outside walls of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, the crosses take the form of crucifixes, and each one is placed in the centre of a *rose-en-soleil*, carved in stone, one of the badges of Edward IV. The best preserved specimen is on the north side of the nave (Plate IV). These crosses were doubtless prepared in readiness for a consecration, which appears never to have taken place.² No traces

¹ I do not know of any similar examples in England, but in the Liebfrauenkirche at Trier, the dedication crosses are said to be "very beautiful, being circles containing angels who bear the crosses." B. Webb, *Sketches in Continental Ecclesiology*, London, 1848, p. 75.

² For information with regard to the fact that St. George's Chapel was never formally consecrated, I am indebted to Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, who has paid much attention to the history of the building.

of crosses on the interior can be seen. They would probably have been simply painted on the walls shortly before the day appointed for the dedication.

At Fairstead church in Essex, several painted crosses were discovered in 1890. Two on the south side and two on the north side are in the form of Latin crosses (12 inches high and 9 inches across the arms, with slightly expanded ends and fitchée below), all about 8 feet from the ground. On the south side there are also two crosses of the normal type with equal arms, painted in red, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, about 4 feet from the ground and not placed exactly below the others. As far as I could see, the two sets appeared to be of the same date, and as the church is without aisles, I could find nothing to suggest that there had been reason for re-consecration. I leave the case as a puzzle.

The above examples must suffice for English consecration crosses. Before leaving these, I may say that I have found no certain examples of Saxon consecration crosses,¹ and the documentary evidence leaves it doubtful whether in those early days crosses were painted to mark the spots intended to receive the unction. But we have seen that the twelfth-century Pontificals require that the anointings should be applied to twelve places, and the painted crosses which once existed on the walls of the late Norman churches of Barfreton,² Upton, near Slough, and others, may well have been of this date. In the thirteenth century, and afterwards, both painted and carved crosses, and crosses inlaid with metal, become fairly common both on the inside and the outside. Of the fourteenth and

¹ A pre-Conquest date has been claimed for some crosses, including one at Ford, Sussex, discovered by Mr. P. M. Johnston, and described and figured in his paper on "Ford and its Church" in *Sussex Arch. Collections*, xliii, 143, fig. 18. The cross is enclosed in a quatrefoiled circle, and certainly looks like thirteenth century work. It is said to be partly under decoration of the same century, but even this does not necessarily lead to the belief that the cross is of much earlier date, for I have come to the conclusion that consecration

crosses in England were soon neglected and covered up with later paintings.

² Drawings of the three painted crosses at the east end of Barfreton church are in the library of the Society of Antiquaries. They are of the usual plain type. They were discovered on removing the whitewash, but have been destroyed. The paintings on the walls of the chancel are assigned to a date about 1170, and in the coloured drawings the crosses appear to be partly covered by the general decoration.

fifteenth centuries, there are both carved and painted crosses, but inlaid ones are seldom found.

I now turn to Scotland. The Pontifical of David de Bernham, bishop of St. Andrews, 1234-1253, has been already noticed. There is hardly anything to differentiate it from an English Pontifical, except the invocation of St. Kentigern in the Litany.¹ We shall, therefore, be prepared to find the consecration crosses in Scotland not unlike those of England.

Of the 139 churches which are actually recorded on the fly-leaf of de Bernham's Pontifical as having been consecrated by him, the greater number have been either rebuilt or so much altered that it is useless to look for the crosses which were anointed by his thumb. At Leuchars church, near St. Andrews, of which the chancel still remains as one of the most beautiful specimens of late Norman work in Scotland, there are traces of large wheel crosses, outlined by compasses upon patches of plaster on the ashlar of the interior walls. The most perfect is on the north side. The nave was pulled down in the last century and replaced by a building suited to the tastes of Presbyterian worshippers. Although the fabric of the building is Norman, it was consecrated by David de Bernham on September 4th, 1242;² and we thus have a salutary warning that the date of the consecration of a church does not necessarily afford any clue to the date of its building.

Of other churches consecrated by the same bishop, there are two incised external crosses still left at Crail in Fifeshire, where the fabric of the church is mainly of the thirteenth century, and may, therefore, have been dedicated soon after the completion of the building. The dedication took place on June 21st, 1243.³

These examples of crosses at Leuchars and Crail are

¹ We know that at least one English Pontifical was actually used in Scotland, for Cotton MS. Tiberius B. 8, originally written for a suffragan of the province of Canterbury, afterwards passed into the hands of a bishop of Glasgow, for the abbot's oath of obedience has been altered to make it apply to that see. See facsimile of the page showing the

alteration in *Coronation Book of Charles V. of France*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1899, Plate 41.

² "Ecclesia de Locres, eodem anno [1242], ij. Non. Sept." *Pontifical Offices used by David de Bernham*, p. xvii.

³ "Ecclesia de Karal, xi. Kal. Julii, eodem anno [1243]." *Ibid.* p. xv.

of special interest. We are able not only to assign a date to them and give the name of the consecrator, but we also know exactly what ceremonies were used, and we are able to point to the book, now at Paris, which was probably used when these crosses were anointed.

Consecration crosses also remain at the church of St. Michael, Linlithgow, at the church of the Holy Trinity, St. Andrews, and at St. Vigean's, Forfarshire, all of which were consecrated by de Bernham, but most of them seem to belong to later consecrations—when the churches had been rebuilt.

At the east end of St. Andrews cathedral church, there is a cross of unusually large size, formed of four arcs of circles intersecting within a complete circle, which is enclosed in a square, the sides of which measure 32 inches. The lines are shallow grooves cut into the ashlar masonry. No other cross can be found on the building, the greater part of the outer walls having been destroyed. The rest of them were probably smaller and perhaps were only painted. This eastern cross which remains was probably the chief of the crosses, and corresponds to the large cross inlaid in flint below the east window at Westham, Sussex, and to the carved medallions with crucifixes or other subjects sometimes found at the east end of English churches, as at Ashford, Kent, and elsewhere.

On the fifteenth-century piers of Dunkeld cathedral church, there are small incised crosses, *pommée*. They are so small (about $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches across the arms) that I should not claim them as consecration crosses if it were not for the regularity in which they occur, on alternate columns, three on each side of the nave. Five of them are at the height of about 6 feet from the ground, but the one on the easternmost pier on the south side is 3 feet higher, being perhaps so placed on account of some fittings which have now disappeared.

The church of St. Michael, Linlithgow, is fortunate in preserving the noble figure of its patron saint at the west angle of the south nave aisle, and has also no less than six external dedication crosses. They are, each of them, an incised cross *pattée* without surrounding circles,

and are 7 inches in diameter, and about 6 feet from the ground. There are at present two at the west end of the aisles, one on the south wall of south aisle, one on the south porch, one on the wall of the north aisle, and one on the north transept. The walls of the church are original, and I think it possible that further search would discover some traces of the missing six.

In the interior of the Chapel Royal in Linlithgow Palace there are seven incised crosses of the same character and size as those on St. Michael's church. There are two at the west end about 5 feet above the floor, and five on the south wall, arranged as follows : one between the west wall and the first window, and four placed in pairs one above the other between the windows, at heights of 6 feet or $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the floor. The chapel is on the first floor of the palace, and at a considerable height above the ground. No dedication crosses can be seen on the outside, nor is it likely that they were ever there. The date of the building of the chapel is assigned to the time of James V. (1513-1542).

The priory church of Pluscardine, near Elgin, offers some good examples of crosses. The house belonged to the order of Val de Choux, an offshoot of the Cistercians. The existing ruins are principally of the thirteenth century, and no less than nine crosses remain on the inside, which are of the usual cross pattée type, carved in low relief within circles, sometimes on a single stone, sometimes on two.¹ They are distributed as follows : three on the south side of the choir ; two on the north side (the wall has been damaged in the place where the third must have been) ; two in the south transept, one being on the south wall and the other on the west wall, and two in north transept, one on the north wall, and the other on the west wall. The other two crosses were, I suppose, at the east and west ends of the church ; and in this way all the twelve crosses are accounted for, though it is to be noticed that the crosses which should have been on the east walls of the transepts have been placed on the north and south walls respectively,

¹ A plan of the ruins is given in Macphail's *History of the Religious House of Pluscardyn*, Edinburgh, 1881,

p. 159, and one of the crosses is figured on p. 167.

probably on account of the east chapels. As some of the crosses are on blocks of stone partly filling up the early lancet windows, it is probable that they belong to a deferred consecration or to a re-consecration.

In the neighbouring cathedral church of Elgin, we find crosses of similar form to those at Pluscardine. At present there are four still remaining on the inside walls, one above the great west entrance of the nave, one on the south transept and one on the north and south sides of the choir. The ruined state of this fine church, perhaps the finest in Scotland, accounts for the eight crosses required to make up the full number. The church was dedicated on July 15th, 1224, by Gilbert, bishop of Caithness,¹ and the crosses which remain are probably those which were anointed by him.

There are crosses also at the Grey Friars church, Stirling; in Brechin cathedral church; in Iona cathedral church, where they occur both on the buttresses at the east end and also on the inside of the south transept.

The church of Holy Trinity, Edinburgh, founded in 1462, was pulled down in 1848 to make way for the North British Railway, and a portion of it was re-erected in Jeffrey Street. The stones were numbered as the building was taken down, in order that they might be put together in proper order. But the dedication crosses, of which there were several, both on the inside and outside, have been misplaced, and in some cases lost altogether. It is a wonder that two or three may still be seen on the outside. Of one, the half has gone astray and is not now to be seen.²

At the well-known chapel of Roslin there is a complete set of twelve incised crosses on the inside. Two are on the west wall, and the other ten are disposed on the piers of the choir, which is the only part of the church that was completed. They consist of cross crosslets varying in size from 3 to 5 inches across the arms. On the outside there are also numerous crosses on the

¹ Walcott's *Ancient Church of Scotland*, 1874, p. 140.

² An account of the church, written before its removal and partial destruc-

tion, will be found in Muir's *Descriptive Notices of some . . . Churches of Scotland*, London, 1848, p. 17.

buttresses, some of them simple crosses, others cross crosslets.

Looking at the Scotch examples as a whole, it will be noticed that a large proportion of them are incised, and also that they are not always placed by threes on each of the four walls. But this need not cause surprise. In Switzerland a large number of the churches in the Valais are of no great antiquity, and in them it is usual to find the consecration crosses placed according to the exigencies of each church. In aisleless churches they are often placed five on the south wall, five on the north, and two on the west. Yet the rubric still remains in the modern Roman Pontifical that the crosses are to be arranged by threes on each of the four walls. As far as mediaeval England is concerned, I have found few cases where the rule has been neglected.

The crosses now actually found on the walls of churches agree with the descriptions of them in the rubrics of Pontificals, and we may be satisfied that they are the crosses which were ordered to be painted on the walls to receive unction from the bishop's thumb. But in addition to those on the walls there are sometimes to be found crosses incised on the jambs of doorways, of which the significance is not quite certain. The crosses themselves are usually smaller and simpler than those on the walls. Some are merely incised crosses pattée. The number still left is considerable, but when a church has been "beautifully restored," it is generally found that the jambs of the doorways have been either scraped or replaced by new stone. In any case, the result is the same: all the markings and scratchings which told that the church had a history are irrevocably gone.

These doorway crosses are often spoken of as "consecration crosses," or "dedication crosses,"¹ but in any case they must not be confused with the twelve principal crosses, and I do not think that they can claim to be in any way connected with the consecration service.

There are well-known examples at Boston in Lincoln-

¹ Several of these doorway crosses, including examples from Ifley, Shurdington and Elkstone, Gloucestershire,

are described and figured as consecration crosses by Dr. J. H. Middleton in his paper in *Archaeologia*, xlviii, 456-464.

shire¹ and at Tideswell in Derbyshire. At the former place the cross is incised to the depth of nearly half an inch into the east jamb of the south door. It measures about 3 inches across the arms. The doorway on the east side of the south transept of Uffington has two incised crosses on its jambs, and there is one now filled up with plaster on the east jamb of the south doorway of the nave.

In Wells cathedral church both jambs of the three western doorways seem to have been marked with crosses, three of which still remain where the stonework has not been repaired. Other good examples may be seen at Whitechurch Canonorum, at Pevensey and elsewhere. There are two small crosses within circles on the outside of the Norman south door of Southwark cathedral. At Southminster, Essex, the doorway crosses are also within circles.² These doorway crosses were very easily worked, and in many cases imitations of them have been scratched by idle hands, but there is seldom any difficulty in distinguishing these imitations from the originals, which are generally cut with a chisel by a trained hand. At Elton in Huntingdonshire, there is "let into the east jamb of the south doorway . . . a small diamond-shaped piece of Purbeck marble, about the size of a window quarry; on this a cross fleury has been sunk."³ This last example is sufficient to show that the doorway crosses were placed there with deliberate intention.

The usual position of these doorway crosses is on the east jamb of the south doorway, at the height of about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the ground. Those at Uffington and Wells cathedral, which are placed on each side of the door, are exceptional.

Their form is often that of a cross pattée, sometimes with the arms of equal lengths, but more commonly with a long vertical arm. Occasionally the crosses are

¹ Murray's *Handbook for Lincolnshire* (1890, p. 124) speaks of this as "one of the dedication crosses."

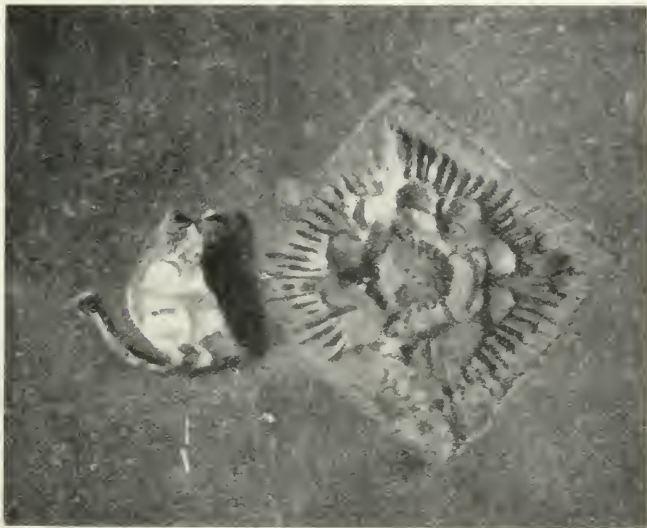
² These have been described and figured by Mr. G. E. Pritchett, F.S.A., in his paper on "Early Consecration

Crosses in St. Leonard's Church, Southminster," *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.*, N.S. iv, 284, 285.

³ Bloxam's *Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 11th ed., London, 1882, ii, 156.



NO. 1.—RESTORED CONSECRATION CROSS AT
OTTERY ST. MARY, DEVON.



NO. 2.—ROSE-EN-SOIL WITH CRUCIFIX IN CENTRE,
ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR.



pommée, and more rarely they are formed by intersecting arcs of circles. Sometimes they are small, as at Bere Regis, Dorset, where a cross pattée on the east jamb of the south doorway only measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches across the arms. On the other hand, in Romsey Abbey church, the east jamb of the north doorway has a deeply cut indent of the form of a plain Latin cross above, but pointed below, which is 7 inches in height. At Ridge, in Hertfordshire, a jamb of the south doorway has an incised pattern of interlaced work, which probably was intended to serve as a doorway cross. (Fig. 4.)

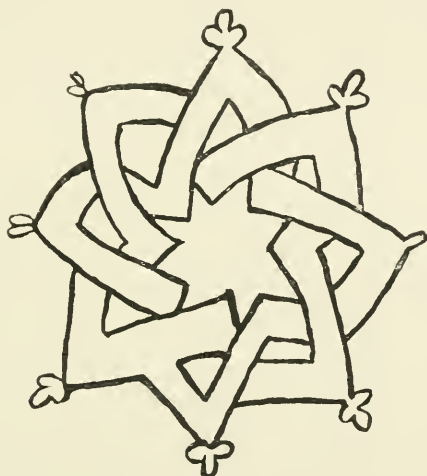


FIG. 4.—INCISED PATTERN AT RIDGE, HERTFORDSHIRE, PROBABLY INTENDED AS A DOORWAY CROSS.

Scale half full size.

A careful consideration of the rubrics in English Pontificals seems to lead to the conclusion that these doorway crosses are not in any way connected with the ceremony of consecration. There is no mention of them in the preliminary rubric among the things to be prepared in readiness for the ceremony, and there is no direction that doorway crosses are to be anointed.¹ Further, the

¹ The only exception is the abnormal rubric in Leofric's Pontifical (see above, p. 4), which directs that the doorway is to be anointed with chrism, but even this does not make mention of crosses. In Lacy's Pontifical (p. 32), when the

relics to be enclosed in the altar are brought into the church, the bishop makes the sign of the cross upon the door, but nothing is said of chrism, or of incised or painted crosses. The Roman Pontifical, however, does order the door

position of the crosses is such that they would be easily exposed to desecration and injury, whereas the true consecration crosses were normally placed at such a height that they would not readily be touched.

The probable reason for cutting these doorway crosses may be expressed in the words which the Roman Pontifical puts into the mouth of the officiating bishop when he enters the church, after his thrice-repeated knocking, and makes the sign of the cross with the lower end of his crozier on the threshold :

Ecce crucis signum phantasmata cuncta.

At Staplehurst, Kent, in the wrought-ironwork of the south door,¹ there are two crosses, one of them within a circle, the motive for which was probably the same as for the incised doorway crosses, namely, to keep off evil influence from the church.

I think it not unlikely that these doorway crosses were descended from the crosses which in early times Christians were accustomed to place on the entrances of their churches. In Ireland many rudely constructed churches have the lintels of their doorways marked with a cross, as at the church of St. Fechin at Fore, co. Westmeath.² Sometimes the cross is on the soffit of the lintel as at Glendalough and Killiney, co. Dublin.³ At Skellig Michael the bee-hive cells are "stamped as Christian by a cross formed by white quartz stones over

of the church to be touched with chrism, though there is no mention of marking a cross to receive the unction. The prayer used at this point is : "Porta sis benedicta, consecrata, consignata et Deo commendata : porta sis introitus salutis et pacis . . ." In some Gallican Orders, the bishop, instead of anointing the door, merely makes the sign of the cross with his crozier, as described in a manuscript Pontifical *circa* 1500, which once belonged to a bishop of Bethlehem, and is now in my possession : "Tunc secundum aliquos episcopus signat cum chrismate ostium ecclesie vel secundum alios cum gambuea." In Plate 48 of the *Metz Pontifical*, Roxburghe Club, 1902, the bishop is seen to be anointing with his thumb the lintel of the doorway, but there is no cross marked upon it, and it may be noticed

that the place anointed would not be liable to be touched by those making use of the door.

¹ See illustration in *Arch. Cant.*, ix, 191.

² See illustration of this doorway and its cross in Petrie's *Ecl. Architecture of Ireland*, 1845, p. 171, where the following passage alluding to the cross is quoted from Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum*, 22nd January, cap. 23, p. 135 : "Dum S. Fechinus rediret Fouariam, ibique consisteret, venit ad eum ante fores ecclesie ubi crux posita est, quidam a talo usque ad verticem lepra percussus."

³ Illustrations of these, and of the cross above the doorway of the Round Tower of Antrim may be seen in Petrie's *Ecl. Architecture of Ireland*, 1845, pp. 168, 398.

the doorway."¹ The crosses, which are often carved on the tympana of Norman doorways,² are also probably theccendants of these early crosses, and are not true dessecration crosses, for there is no reason to think that cony were ever anointed with chrism like the wall crosses.

In addition to the doorway crosses which do not seem to have been anointed in England, there are other crosses which are not likely to have received unction, but seem to be merely decorative and intended to emphasize the triumph of the Cross. The crosses on the Byzantine capitals of churches in Ravenna, go back in some cases to times when unction was unknown. They are found in Merovingian capitals.³ The tradition went on and shows itself in the Tau crosses on the capitals of the chapel of St. John the Evangelist in the Tower of London. The crosses on the outside of the Saxon tower of Earl's Barton also belong to the class of non-consecration crosses, as well as those in the tympana of the triforium arches in Rochester cathedral.

In later times decorative crosses of inlaid flints appear in churches in the south of England, as at Seaford, where, on three sides of the tower, there are Calvary crosses about 3 feet in height. At Broadwater in Sussex, on the outer wall of the north side of the clerestory, there is a cross of the same type and the same size. And at Stanwell in Middlesex there are two crosses between the windows of the clerestory on the north side.

I should also hesitate to give the title of consecration crosses to those of which a single example is found on one of the piers of the nave arcade, as at Clavering in Essex and Carshalton in Surrey. Some such are carefully worked and even painted, but they are found singly in cases where the other pillars remain intact. They are often only 3 feet from the ground, which also

¹ Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, ii, 21.

² Numerous examples with illustrations may be seen in C. E. Keyser's *Norman Tympana and Lintels*, London, 1904. See also *Archæologia*, xlvii, 161. The very curious tympanum at South Ferriby, Lincolnshire, where a bishop

is standing in the attitude of benediction between two crosses, has been claimed by Dr. Middleton as giving examples of consecration crosses.

³ For examples, see De Caumont, *Abécédaire d'Archéologie*, 4^{me} ed. Paris, 1859, *Architecture Religieuse*, 11, 12.

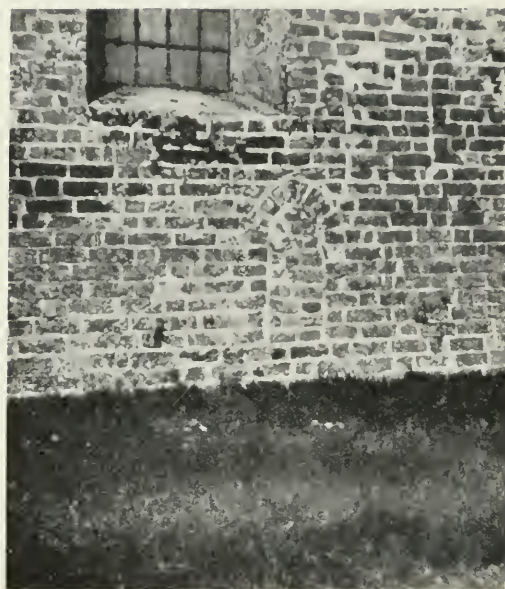
militates against the probability of their use as consecration crosses.

Occasionally, upon the furniture of churches, crosses are painted or incised which must not be mistaken for consecration crosses. Thus at Wensley, Yorkshire, there is an incised cross on the stone credence table, and at Cheltenham there is a small six-leaved cross on the piscina.¹ Many founts have crosses carved in relief of the consecration type, as at St. Mary's church, Bideford. I am also inclined to think that the red cross, $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, at the back of the sedile, on the north side of the sanctuary of St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester, is not a true consecration cross. Its position would be most unusual, and there are no other crosses to be seen in the church.

The five crosses on altar stones are true consecration crosses, inasmuch as they were incised on the spots which were to be anointed with chrism when the altar was consecrated, but it is not here necessary to make more than a passing allusion to them. The larger wall crosses which we have been considering have supplied more than sufficient material for a single paper.

¹ This has been figured as a consecration cross by Dr. Middleton in *Archæologia*, xlviii, pl. xxxiv, fig. 16.





NO. 1.—SCHÖBULL, LOW SET OPENING. EXTERIOR.



NO. 2.—HYLLINGE, LOW SET OPENING. EXTERIOR.



SOME FURTHER NOTES ON LOW SET OPENINGS IN SCANDINAVIAN CHURCHES.¹

By AMBROSE P. BOYSON.

Another short journey in Scandinavia enables me to make a small addition to a paper which appeared in our *Journal* last year,² and, although I am only able to record two fresh examples of low set openings, they are interesting from the fact that they both occur in parts which had, on my first inquiry, been declared by the principal ecclesiological authority of the districts to be quite devoid of this feature.

The first to which I draw attention was brought under my notice by Professor Haupt of Eutin. It occurs in the thirteenth-century brick church of Schöbull near Husum, on the west coast of Schleswig Holstein, originally in the ancient area of Frisia and later in the district of North Friesland (Plate I, No. 1). With one exception of Romanesque type at the east end of the chancel, the original windows are lancets, and mostly blocked. The three which are still open, are splayed both outwardly and inwardly. The opening is in the south wall of the chancel, but not in the usual position, being 19 feet 6 inches from the wall of the chancel arch and only 12 feet from the east wall of the chancel. It is 1 foot 3 inches from the ground, and is 2 feet 10 inches in height and 1 foot three inches in width. The opening is blocked flush with the wall, and there is no trace of it in the inside of the church, but it was probably splayed on both sides in the manner of the lancet windows in the church.

The second example occurs in Zealand, in which island, as mentioned in my previous paper, Professor Kornerup, the chief authority in this diocese, considered that no

¹ Read before the Institute, Dec. 4th, 1907.

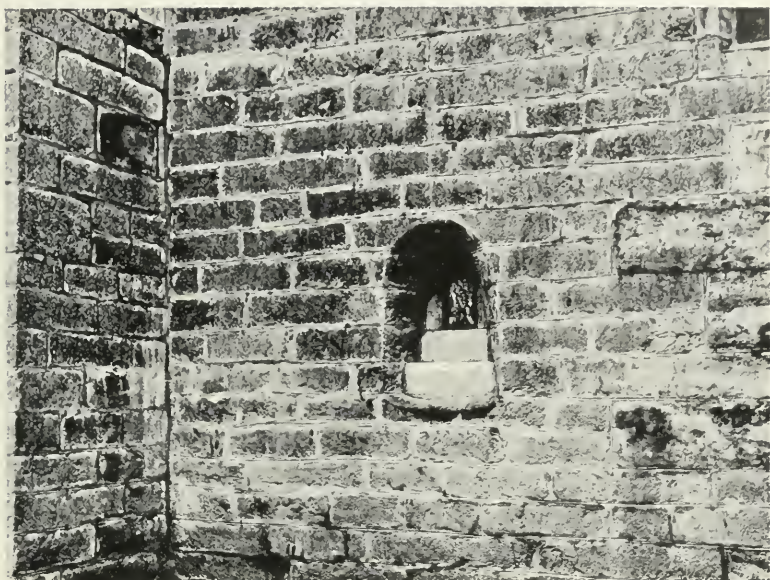
² The previous notes on the above subject appeared in the *Journal*, lxi, 5-24.

examples existed. The information came to me from Mr. Uldall, of Randers, who, some years ago, on a journey in connection with the great work on the mediaeval bells of Denmark, which he has lately published, noted a probable trace of such an opening in the church of Hyllinge, near Roeskilde. His observation, as usual, was quite correct. It is in the south wall of the chancel which terminates in an apse. A photograph of the faint lines now existing (Plate I, No. 2) shows how the covering of whitewash almost obliterates any trace, and proves how easy it is for those who are not interested in the subject to overlook the slight indications which remain.

The chancel apse and the sacristy are the only original parts of the church now remaining. The former is ornamented externally with an arcading of Romanesque arches and has three round windows, all blocked. The low side opening is also round and blocked flush with the wall: it is in the usual position, only 6 inches from the wall of the chancel arch, and 3 feet 6 inches from the plinth, while its diameter on the wall surface is 1 foot 10 inches: no doubt it contracted to a very small orifice, in the same manner as similar openings in Jutland. It is the only low set opening I have been able to hear of in this island, but a careful and systematic examination of the churches would probably result in the discovery of other examples.

This, I am sorry to say, is the extent of the new matter which I am able to bring before you, but subsequently passing through Sweden I visited the church at Husaby, for the purpose of seeing with my own eyes the very remarkable opening in the south wall of the chancel, to which I alluded in my former paper.¹ I am now able to furnish photographs of it, both from the outside and the inside (Plate II), and to give particulars in English measurements. Internally the height of the actual opening is 10 inches, and its width, 6 inches: the height from the floor is 3 feet 10 inches and the width of the splay is 3 feet: from the splay to the chancel arch wall the distance is 9 inches. Externally the distance from plinth to sill is 3 feet, and from sill to glass is 1 foot 3 inches.

¹ *Archaeological Journal*, lxiii, 18.



NO. 1.—HUSABY. LOW SET OPENING. EXTERIOR.



NO. 2.—HUSABY. LOW SET OPENING. INTERIOR.



Internally the sill falls by four small steps from the actual opening to the floor, the two other windows in the chancel, which are at the usual height, have similar step-like sills. I have observed a like fashion in the church of Holebüll, near Flensburg, in Schleswig.

Husaby church, however, is otherwise so interesting that it merits a few words of general description.¹ It consists of a square western tower with semi-circular stair turrets on either side: a nave without aisles and a small low chancel terminating in an apse (Plate III).

The tower, which is undoubtedly older than the rest of the church, is supposed to date from the earlier years of the eleventh century and to be contemporaneous with the first church erected here in A.D. 1005 by Olof Skötkonung, the first Christian king of Sweden, after his baptism by English missionaries, or, as is now more generally held, by the German missionary St. Sigfrid, in the well at Husaby. The method of building in the lower stages of the tower is quite different from that in the rest of the church: the stone is just as it came from the quarry, not worked in any appreciable degree, and consequently quite irregular in size and form: the joints also are correspondingly wide and uneven. The builders have, however, tried to lay the stones in continuous courses as far as possible, although they have not always been successful. The walls of the church, on the other hand, exhibit much more care. The stones are worked into fairly regular squares of about the same thickness, and consequently could be laid with tolerably fine joints. The outer surface of the squares is coarsely tooled, probably with a chisel, a style of work, according to Viollet-le-Duc, prevalent in France up to the middle of the eleventh century.

The stair turrets are built entirely in connection with the walls of the main tower, except as regards quite the upper part of the central tower, which is composed of hewn stones of similar character to those used in the nave and chancel. No doubt this addition was made at the time of the building of the second church. Before the addition the central tower was probably flat roofed,

¹ I draw on the accounts published by Dr. E. Ekhoft in *Svenska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift*, Vol. x, and by the rector, the Rev. M. Arén.

with the stair turrets standing above it, like watch towers on either side.

Another circumstance which lends interest to the Husaby tower is that there still remain considerable traces of former defensive arrangements, evidenced in the upper part by a number of small holes, now closed up, which probably held timbers supporting a gallery or wooden parapet on the outside of the wall. In the lower stage of the west wall of the tower is an original round-headed doorway about 16 feet above the ground. This, at first sight, curious arrangement was no doubt constructed, so as to avoid using the lower entrances when the church in troublous times was garrisoned for defence; the lower entrances were then securely fastened by means of massive bars, the holes for which are still to be seen, and access to the tower, and from the tower to the church, was only obtainable either by means of a ladder or windlass, through this high-placed doorway, in the same manner as in a secular fortress. I may mention that I have observed the same arrangement in some of the older church towers in Jutland.

A feature of very unusual character occurs in the northern wall of the chancel arch (Plate III, No. 2). The wall contains a small chamber, large enough for one person in a standing position, to which access is obtained by a door in the chancel arch itself. This chamber has towards the nave a rectangular opening, placed at such a height that the inmate could conveniently speak to the congregation, and there is no doubt that it was constructed for the purpose of a pulpit or *ambo*. On the sill of the opening is inscribed,

DOGMA SALUTIS ERIT HOC QUIDQUID DICERE QUERIT
CLERUS IN AMBONE SUBTILI CUM RATIONE

which can be rendered,

Whatever the priest out of the fulness of his wisdom doth
seek to utter in the pulpit, that shall be the doctrine of
salvation.

It bears the arms of Bryngolf Gerlakson, bishop of Skara, and three minuscules *mdr* (1505), the year of his death.





NO. 1.—HUSABY CHURCH. EXTERIOR.



NO. 2.—HUSABY CHURCH. INTERIOR.

The interior of the church is unusually rich in painting, both on the walls and vaulting. Covered with whitewash at the Reformation, they were brought to light at the recent restoration of the church, but, unfortunately, have been entirely repainted in strong colours. They consist of scenes from the life of our Lord, representations of the four evangelists, the four major and twelve minor prophets, and some of the church fathers, and saints, in all about 120 subjects, besides others which were too damaged for reproduction. They are ascribed to the fifteenth century.

In the upper tower room is a very interesting collection of articles of furniture formerly used in the church. Among others may be mentioned :

- (1) Two oblation irons, one of which has six circular spaces for stamping the sacramental wafer, each inscribed with the year 1110 and some symbolical characters: the other is of later date, with a crucifix at the one end and a chalice at the other.
- (2) The old stocks, which formerly stood on the north side of the altar. There is space for two delinquents and four holes for their legs.
- (3) A long staff with a large wooden ball at one end pierced with small holes, in some of which are the remains of bristles. This appears to have been an *aspersorium* with which the congregation, after the brush had been dipped in the holy water, were sprinkled during the service.
- (4) A staff painted blue with an iron shoe at the lower end and a wooden knob at the upper. This was the so-called "pusher" with which the vergers awakened any who slept during the service. He first struck on the stone floor with the iron end, and then, if that had not the desired effect, he pushed the slumberer with the wooden end.¹

After Husaby I visited Vadstena, to inspect the

¹ I am informed that a similar article of church furniture is preserved in Wimborne Minster.

confessional openings in the Bridgetine church to which I alluded in my former paper.¹ They are, as therein described, in the north wall of the chancel, and since the orientation of the church is to the west, they were in the same position as the normal low set opening in a chancel orientated to the east. The dimensions of the openings are approximately as follows: height, 1 foot 7 inches; width, 11 inches; width of splay, 1 foot 8 inches; distance from ground, 2 feet 8 inches. Numbers 1, 4, and 5 retain the original stone work, numbers 2 and 3 have been more or less restored. Inside of the openings are recesses or cells 5 feet 6 inches deep, and 4 feet wide, with a stone seat on each side.

The church is large, and interesting as a fine example of the Bridgetine style. Buried here is Queen Philippa, who died in 1430. She was the daughter of our Henry IV., and wife of Eric of Pomerania, king of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. There is a slab over the tomb with a large incised crucifix and the royal arms of England and France.

NOTE.—I desire to make the following corrections in connection with the description of the churches of Jutland in my former paper. On page 7, as regards the fonts, I should have written “mostly sculptured, some very elaborately.” What I believed to be an alms dish is a very shallow and generally highly ornamented metal dish fitted into, and used in place of, the original deep bowl. On page 8, the whitewashing of the churches, as regards the interior, took place between 1540 and 1600, but in respect of the exterior, where the building consisted of rough granite, this was whitened from the first; on the other hand, walls built of squared granite blocks were usually left bare.

¹ *Archaeological Journal*, lxiii, 18.



SOME LOW SIDE WINDOWS IN IRISH CHURCHES.¹

By PHILIP MAINWARING JOHNSTON, F.R.I.B.A.

In connection with a recent visit to Ireland, the fact has come under my notice that several examples of that sphinx of ecclesiology, the low side window, are to be found in the churches of that country; and, inasmuch as these examples were quite casually noted, it is highly probable that many others might be recorded if a systematic search were made.

GLENDALOUGH, COUNTY WICKLOW.²

The first of these to be observed is in some respects the most remarkable. It occurs in St. Saviour's priory church, one of the "Seven Churches" of Glendalough, the least known, and in point of beauty the best worth visiting in that interesting group. The church is a highly ornate instance of the later Irish Romanesque, dating from about 1160, and its exotic character, in spite of many touches in the carving that proclaim the native workman, is plainly manifest. It consists of a long nave and a short chancel, not much more than a square on plan, and originally barrel-vaulted, with a large *annexe* and a chapel on the north of the nave. Specially noteworthy are the fine wide chancel arch, with richly ornamented orders, carved capitals and bases, the east window, the curious niches in the chancel and the windows of the nave.

The low side window—never was that clumsy term more ill-suited to describe the opening—is in the usual place, the western end of the south wall of the chancel. At first sight it is manifestly a later insertion, no doubt of the thirteenth century, and its resemblance to one of the types of this class of opening, described

¹ Read before the Institute, December 4th, 1907.

² When this church of St. Saviour was visited by the members of the Institute at the meeting in Ireland in 1900, the low side window was pointed

out by the late Mr. Micklethwaite. In the Report of the Proceedings, *Archæological Journal*, vii, 342, it is wrongly described as "in the north wall," instead of in the south.

and illustrated by my friend, Mr. Ambrose P. Boyson, is very marked,¹ as in a lesser degree is its likeness to some English examples. The external opening (Plate I, No. 1) is of plain rectangular shape, measuring $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, roughly formed in undressed stones, its sill rather over 2 feet from the ground; recessed within this is a circular aperture set back about a foot from the outer face of the wall. This rude hole, which is quite

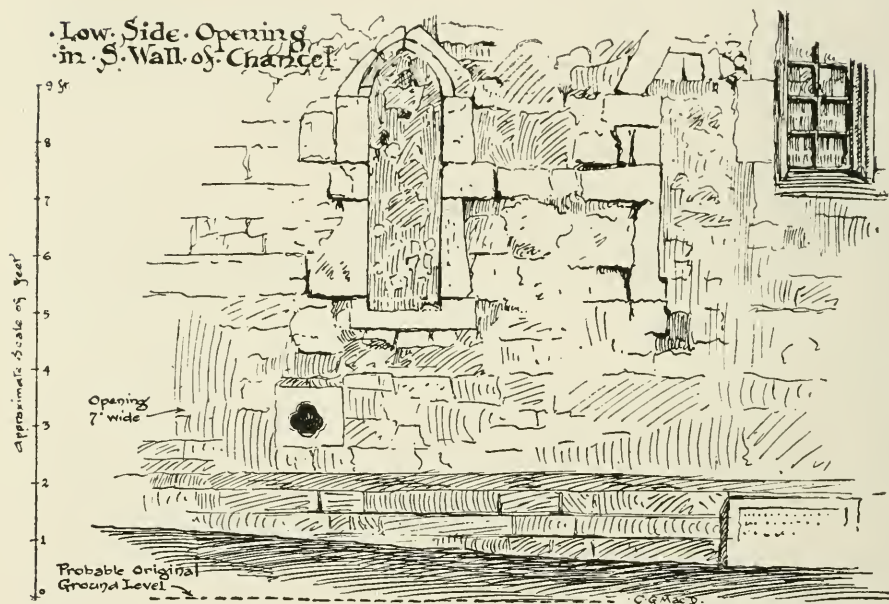
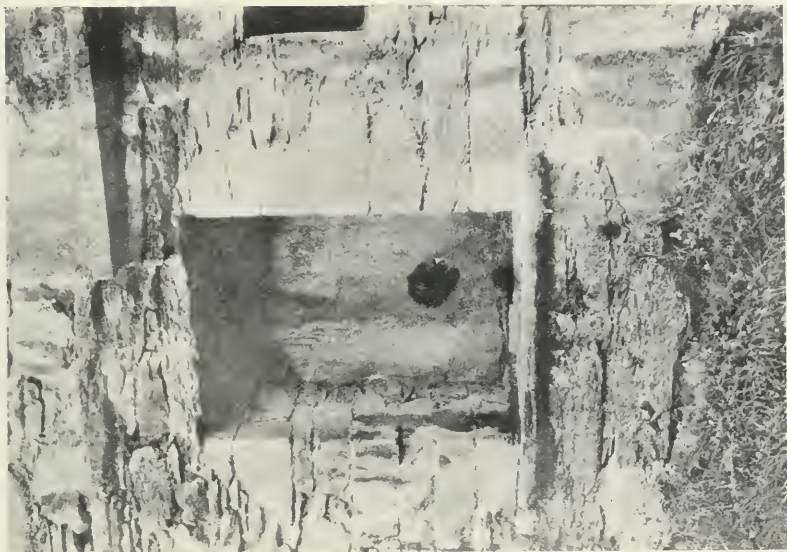


FIG. 1.—LOW SIDE OPENING. BLETCHINGLEY CHURCH.

without moulding or ornament, appears on the inside (Plate I, No. 2), where its diameter varies from $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches in width to $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height, and it is here seen to be pierced through a heavy slab, set on end in the middle of the thickness of the wall, which is 4 feet thick. The slab itself, which would seem to have once done duty as a mill-stone, is framed within a rectangular recess, 2 feet 4 inches wide and 3 feet 6 inches high, its sill being 2 feet 3 inches from the

¹ As, for instance, in the examples illustrated opposite pages 12, 14, and 19 in Mr. Boyson's paper, "On Low Set

Openings in Danish and other Scandinavian Churches," *Archaeological Journal*, lxiii, 5-24.



ST. SAVIOUR'S CHURCH, GLENDALOUGH. LOW SIDE WINDOW.
NO. 2.—INTERIOR.



ST. SAVIOUR'S CHURCH, GLENDALOUGH.
NO. 1. EXTERIOR.



floor, and the total height of the wall to the springing of the vault being about 7 feet. The sill of the recess has evidently been intended for a seat; it is formed of a thin slab of stone with a slightly projecting edge. In Plate II, a man is seen seated within the recess. Plate I, No. 2, shows the circular rim of part of the mill-stone.

Perhaps the closest analogies to this remarkable example that we have in England are to be found in the lately-discovered opening at Bletchingley church, Surrey (Fig. 1), the low side window at Tatsfield, in the same county, and that at Coombes church, Sussex. The two former are of quatrefoil shape. The Bletchingley opening is about 7 inches in diameter and is set at a height of between 2 and 3 feet from the ground. It occurs a little to the west of two small thirteenth-century rebated lancets in the south wall of the chapel, which lies south of the chancel, the sills of the windows themselves being only about 2 feet higher in the wall. In its size and position relatively to the ground, and the floor inside, this peculiar opening agrees very noticeably with that at Glendalough. The Tatsfield example¹ is much larger and set higher in the wall, being 1 foot 7 inches in diameter, and over 3 feet from the chancel floor. That at Coombes is of plain circular shape, set immediately beneath a large two-light window of late fourteenth-century date, so that internally it appears within a niche or recess cut through the sill of the window to the tracery plane, thus uniting the two features in one composition. This opening, which is still blocked, is probably at its narrowest aperture about 1 foot in diameter, and its sill is about 3 feet from floor and ground.² It is noteworthy, that in the same wall of this small aisleless church, but separated internally from the foregoing by the chancel arch, is another low side window, a

¹ Illustrated by the writer in *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, xiv, 106; also in the Rev. H. Bedford Pim's paper, *Archaeological Journal*, lxii, 23. Mr. T. M. Grose-Lloyd informs me that there are quatrefoil openings of this class at Essendine, Rutland, and Stauntonfield, Northants.

² Fully illustrated in papers on low side windows by the writer, in *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, xlii, 120-124, and in *The Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, iv, iv.

square-headed oblong opening, set even nearer to the ground. This appears to be earlier in date, probably early thirteenth century, and it is worked in Caen stone, the fourteenth century windows being in a local green sandstone.¹

There is one other English example that has come under my notice having a strong resemblance to the low side opening at Glendalough, and this has already been illustrated in the *Journal*.² This is in Sheldon church, Warwickshire, and was selected by Mr. Boyson as the nearest he could find in general character to the foreign examples he was describing. It will be seen by referring to the plate there given that this likeness is even greater to the opening at Glendalough. Instead, however, of a circular hole within a square one, both outer and inner apertures are of rectangular outline.

ARDFERT CATHEDRAL, COUNTY KERRY.

This very beautiful and interesting, though ruined, building consists of a long and narrow nave and a choir, without structural division, of the same width (the total dimensions are 137 feet 2 inches by 25 feet 1 inch), a short aisle, 10 feet wide to the south of the nave, and eastward of this a long transeptal building, 62 feet long and 23 feet wide, with a central projecting rectangular chapel. There are traces of a range of buildings abutting on the north side of the nave and choir, including what may have been a chapel, projecting beyond the eastern extremity of the latter. In style and date the church ranges between the Hiberno-Romanesque of its western front (*circa* 1160) to the graceful Early Pointed work of its lofty choir, with its magnificent range of nine tall trefoil-arched lancets on the south, and a triplet of enormous lancets in the east wall, occupying almost the entire height of the gable.³ The walls still retain their characteristic battlements of the stepped type so fre-

¹ There is a circular unglazed opening in the west wall of the south porch of Broadwater church, in the neighbourhood of Coombes, which in date and appearance is very close to it.

² In Mr. Boyson's paper, "On Low Set Openings in Danish and other

Scandinavian Churches," *Archaeological Journal*, lxi, 20.

³ Our Anglo-Saxon ancestors are often charged with a sort of megalomania in regard to the heights of their church walls and the long drawn-out archways and doors, together with the



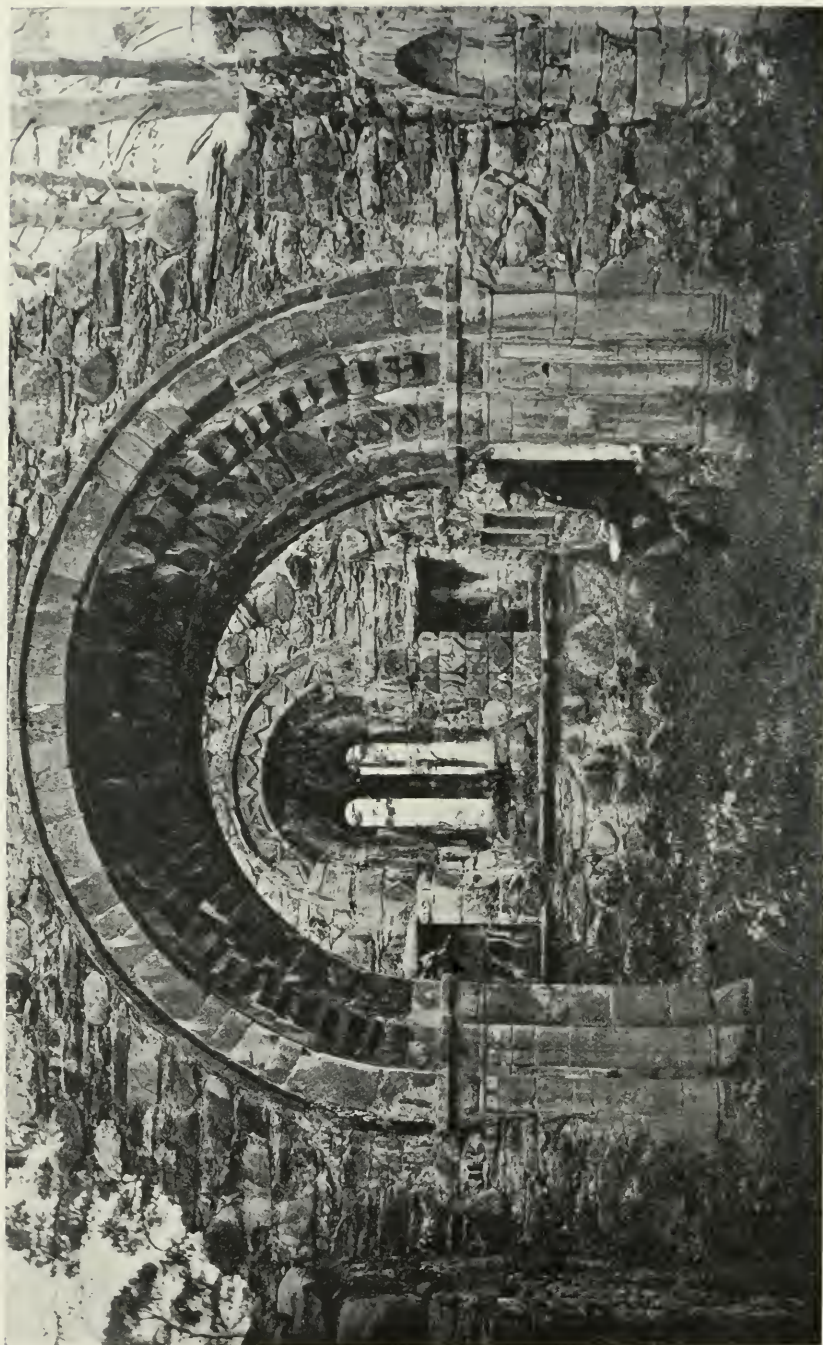


Photo by Lawrence and Co., Dublin.

ST. SAVIOUR'S PRIORY CHURCH, GLENDALOUGH. INTERIOR, LOOKING EAST.

quently found in Ireland. The transeptal chapels (or chapter-house) and the northern buildings above referred to, appear to date from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The low side window is at the extreme west of the south side of the choir, and from its absolutely plain character it is difficult to fix a date. There is no reason against its being co-eval with the elaborate work in the choir, and, if so, it may date from about 1230. The actual opening is a square-headed rebated loop, 3 feet 11 inches by 8 inches in the clear, its sill being 2 feet 6 inches from the floor, set within a splayed internal opening 3 feet 2 inches wide. It is not, however, in the centre of this, but the splay is much wider on the western side. The sill of the internal opening is flat, and only 2 feet 3 inches above the floor. As in the Glendalough example, this has evidently served as a seat, and for this purpose it is finished with a stone slab having a projecting hollowed edge. The inequality in the splay suggests that someone used to sit within, facing east. In general form and character this opening agrees with many examples of a common type found in England.¹ On either side of the internal head of this window are two corbels at a height of about 8 feet 3 inches above the floor, corresponding to two others in the north wall, and these evidently carried beams on which was laid the floor of a rood-loft. The latter would therefore stand immediately over the low side window. The extreme plainness of this example is noteworthy, especially contrasted with the elaborate range of windows hard by.

ST. DOULAGH'S CHURCH, COUNTY DUBLIN.²

Through the kindness of my assistant, Mr. C. G. MacDowell, who specially visited the building when

exaggerated size of the quoin and other stones they employed; but this craze for bigness is very noticeable also in many of these late-twelfth and early-thirteenth century Irish churches. The high east triplets in the cathedrals of Killaloe and Kilkenny, and the churches of Kilfenora, Cashel, Nenagh and Ennis, are other instances. The central lancet of the triplet at Ardferit is no less than 27 feet high and 3 feet wide. It is

interesting, by way of comparison, to note that the central lancet of a group of five in the east wall of the Grey Friars' Church, Chichester, is 26 feet high and 4 feet wide.

¹ Cf. the low side window at Rustington, Sussex, illustrated in *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, xli, 172.

² The spelling of the saint's name is very varied. Lord Lindsay gives no less than 88 different spellings from ancient

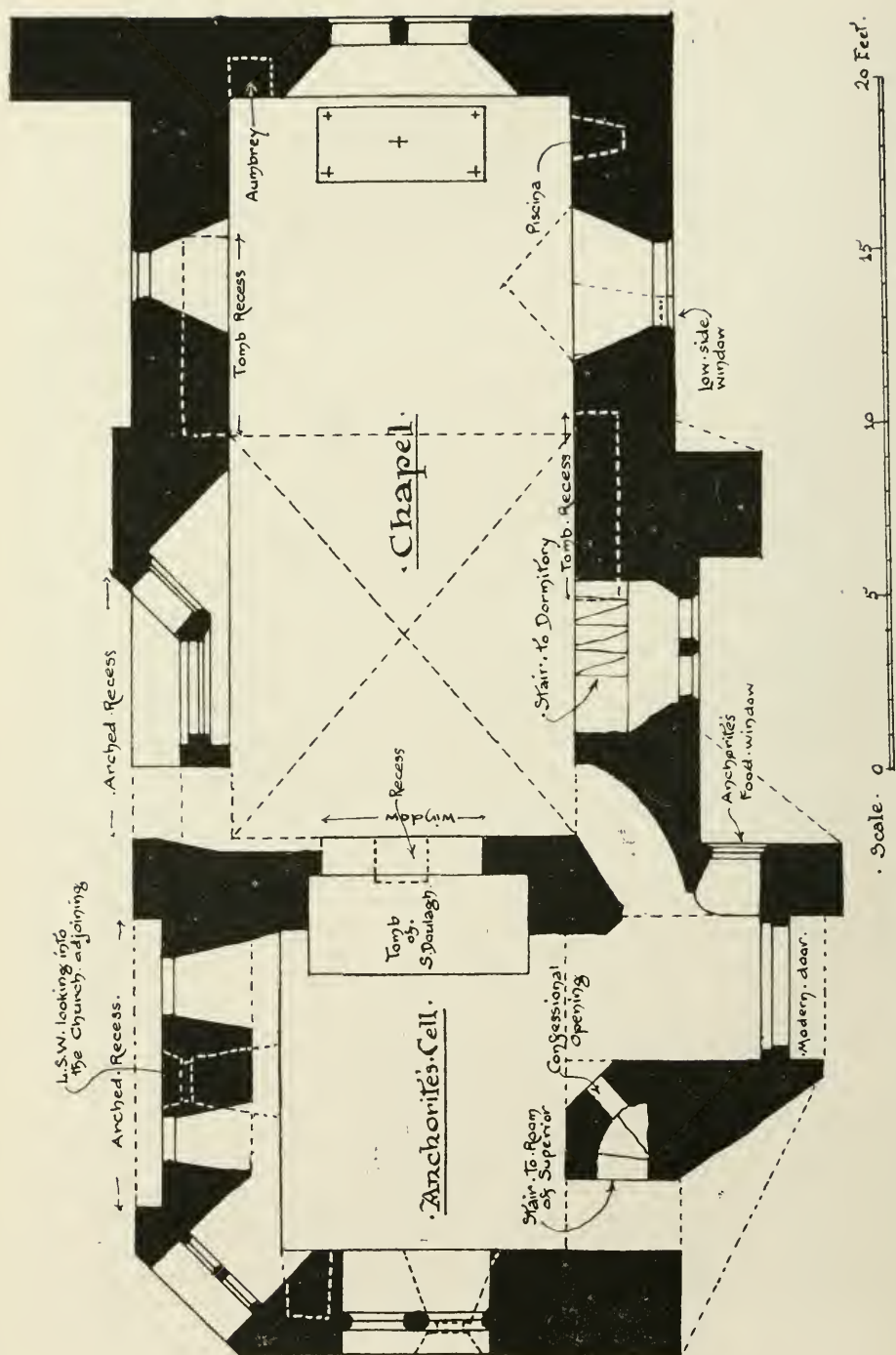


FIG. 2.—PLAN OF ST. DOULAGH'S CHURCH, CO. DUBLIN.



Photo by Lawrence and Co., Dublin.

ST. DOULAGH'S CHURCH FROM THE WEST, SHOWING ANCHORITE'S CELL AND
CHAMBERS ABOVE.



recently in Ireland, I have been able to obtain fairly complete particulars of this remarkable church, which, considering its exceptionally curious features and its proximity to Dublin (it is within six miles), is far less known than it deserves to be. Its combination of sacred well, baptistery, monastic establishment, anchorhold, and church, the three last grouped into one building, is certainly without parallel, even in Ireland, that country of surprises. I do not propose to describe the two former features, although they merit the most careful investigation at the hands of archaeologists. The church and group of conventual buildings are evidently a growth, the main part dating from about A.D. 1200; but there may be the nucleus of an earlier building in the anchorite's cell at the west end, and there have certainly been many later alterations and insertions of windows and other features. (See Plan, Fig. 2.) St. Doulagh, the founder, was a noted anchorite, who flourished in the seventh century A.D., and there is practical certainty that his cell occupied part of the site of the present buildings, and if, as is not unlikely, it was of stone, the actual materials may have been re-used when the rebuilding took place.¹

documents, such as Dulech, Diulech, Diuligh, Diuleach and Dulagh. St. Dolachy appears in a document of the close of the fifteenth century, and in 1615, in the Regal Visitation, we have it as St. Dowlock's. Doulough is, perhaps, the generally received variety, but Doulagh has equal authority.

¹ Dr. Stokes, in his *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, writes: "St. Doulough's church . . . was not always a parish church as it is now. It was originally the cell of a recluse or anchorite like St. Simeon Stylites. Anchorites of this kind were imported from Syria to Gaul, and from Gaul to Ireland, where this institution flourished in greatest vigour. St. Doulough's church . . . comprises seven apartments and three stone staircases. The most curious portion is a small cell or chamber at the west end, where the original anchorites lived and in which they were buried. It was the rule, in fact, for the anchorite to be buried in his cell. One of the most celebrated Irish scholars and writers of the Middle Ages was Marianus Scotus

of Maintz. He was an enclosed anchorite, and tells us himself that he daily said mass standing on the grave of his predecessor, and with his own open grave beside him." Dr. Stokes quotes from the rule for anchorites: "An anchorite's cell should be built of stone, twelve feet long and twelve broad. It should have three windows, one facing the choir through which he may receive the Body of Christ, another on the opposite side through which he may receive his food, and a third for light. The window for food should be secured by a bolt, and have a glazed lattice, to be opened and shut, because no one should be able to look in, except as far as glass will allow, nor should the anchorite have a view out. He should be provided with three articles, a jar, a towel, and a cup. After tierce he is to lay the jar and cup outside the window and then close it. About noon he is to come over and see if his dinner be there. If it be, he is to sit at the window and eat and drink. When he has done, whatever remains is to be left outside for anyone

S. Doulagh's Ch.
View from S.E. Co. Dublin.

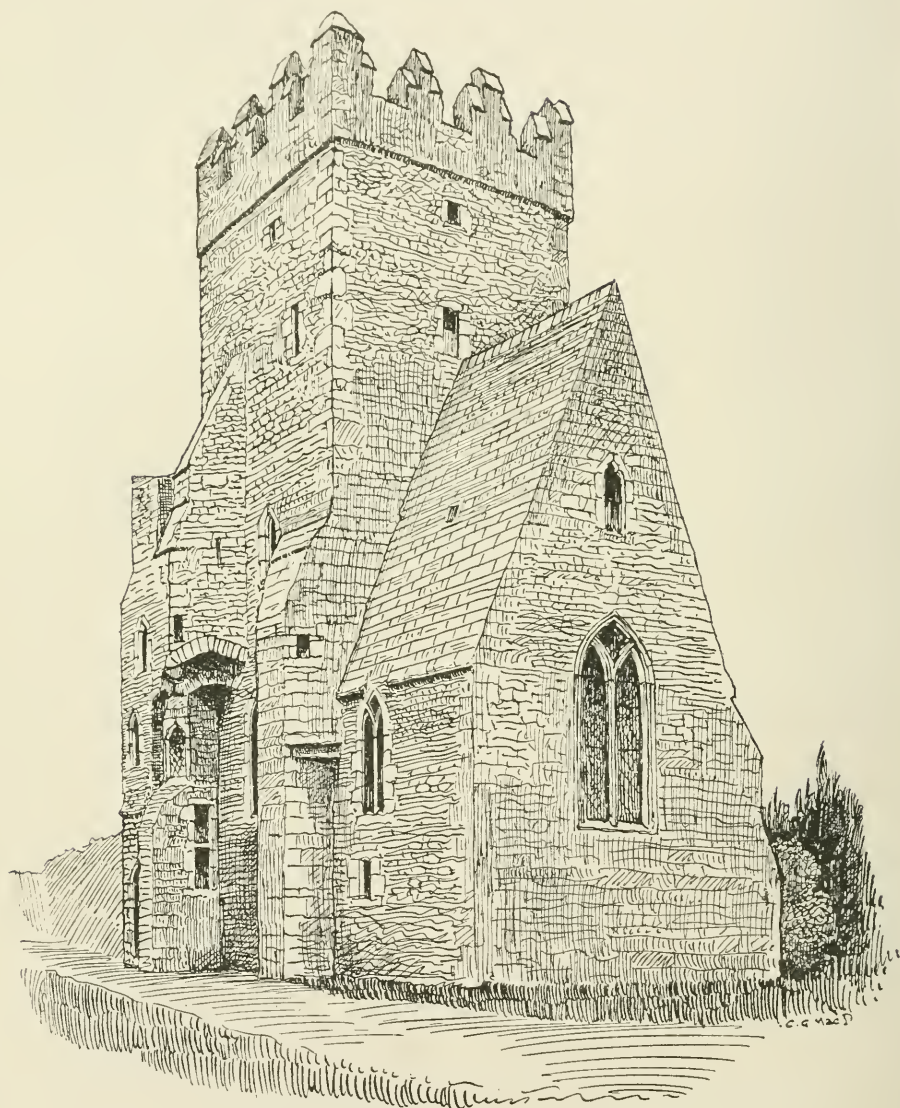


FIG. 3.

St. Doulagh was the first of a long succession of anchorites who occupied this cell, and from a very early date his sanctity attracted to the spot a small community of monks, for whose better accommodation the oratory or church was built and the cell itself probably rebuilt, upper chambers being constructed over it and in the tower that forms the central mass of this strange group. Perhaps there were detached cells or bothies (huts of timber or wattles), after the Irish manner, for the accommodation of the monks: but the abbot of the small community seems to have occupied one of the chambers over the cell, the anchorite being immured in the cell itself, which served him for both living room and sleeping apartment. It has been suggested that the small aperture from the stair that led up to the abbot's chamber was used by him in making confession to the anchorite, and the supposition is highly probable.¹ This opening is shown in figs. 5 and 6, in the latter of which the tomb of St. Doulagh, used as an altar, appears.

Besides these openings, two others of the low side window type occur in the cell and one in the chancel of the little chapel: all are rebated for shutters.

The window in the west wall of the cell may, I take it, be certainly classed as a confessional opening, for the reason that we know the anchorites to have been in priest's orders in many cases, and that they were much resorted to by the laity, as well as the religious, for making confessions.² The window

else who may choose to remove it, and he is to take no thought for the morrow. But if it should happen that he has nothing for his dinner, he is not to omit his accustomed thanks to God, though he is to remain without food till the following day. His garments are to be a gown and cap, which he is to wear waking and sleeping. In winter he may, if the weather be severe, wear a woolly cloak, because he is not allowed to have any fire, save what his candle produces."

¹ Anchorites were a good deal used by monastic communities as their confessors, both in England and Ireland. Richard Rolle, the celebrated recluse, was confessor to the nuns of Polesworth, Warwick; and there was a noted

anker at the abbey of Westminster. Several of the Irish cathedrals (perhaps the majority originally) had anchorite's cells attached to them. Cashel and the cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny, are instances. The well-known bee-hive cells on the islands off the west coast, and here and there on the mainland, were inhabited by these *inclusi*, under a specially rigorous rule, the cells being of such cramped dimensions that they could neither stand nor lie in comfort.

² In writing elsewhere upon this subject (*Surrey Archaeological Collections*, xiv, 132, and *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, xlii, 178), I have quoted two historical examples; that of Richard II., who, according to Stow,



FIG. 4.—ST. DOULAGH'S CHURCH, CO. DUBLIN. INTERIOR, LOOKING EAST.

in the north wall of the cell pierces the back of an arched recess in the outer face, which recess would itself be within the chancel of the parish church, which from a very early date was built up against the north side of the cell and chapel. Through this opening the recluse was no doubt communicated with the sacred elements. This was one of the rules laid down for anchorites and anchoresses, as we have it in the *Barbaria Sancta* of Rader.¹ It was also, as my friend Mr. Boyson has demonstrated, not by quotation alone, but by photographs of the actual windows remaining in the Bridgetine Church at Vadstena, Sweden,² the method prescribed both for the shriving and communicating of the nuns of St. Bridget's foundation. The same rule and method obtained in their English house of Sion, Middlesex, to which the oft-quoted passage in Bedyll's letter to Cromwell, at the time of the suppression, refers.

The third of these peculiar openings, as will be seen in the plan, and from the view of the interior shown in Fig. 4, is in the south wall of the tiny chancel of the chapel, beneath a large window, and, therefore, quite low down in the wall.³ It seems, like the other openings before described, to have been, not glazed, but rebated for a shutter. While the others are exceptional in character, this is normal, in that it corresponds in situation, and we may assume in use, or uses, to the typical low side window in churches.

before going to meet Wat Tyler confessed himself to an anchorite; and the case of Henry V., who, after the death of his father, says Thomas of Elmham, went by night "to the Recluse of Westminster, a man of perfect life, and unfolding to him the secret of his whole life, being washed in the bath of true penitence, received against the poison of his sins the antidote of absolution." The cell of this famous anker was built adjoining the north side of St. Margaret's, Westminster, facing the abbey church. Such confessions as these, made to a man immured in a stone cell, could only have been made by means of one of these shuttered and grated openings, through which, as recorded in the case

of St. Wulfrie at Haselbury Plucknet, Somersetshire, the anchorite spoke with his fellow men.

¹ This enjoins that the cell shall be constructed of stone, twelve feet square, with three windows, one towards the choir, through which the host may be received, another opposite to it in the external wall, for the admission of food, etc., and a third, high up, closed with glass or horn, for the purpose of giving light.

² *Archaeological Journal*, lxiii, 18.

³ The whole chapel only measures 21 feet 3 inches by 9 feet 10 inches. The square on which the cell is planned is only 9 feet 3 inches by 8 feet 3 inches.

S^t. Doulagh's Ch.
Co. Dublin.
S.E. Corner of Anchorite's Cell.

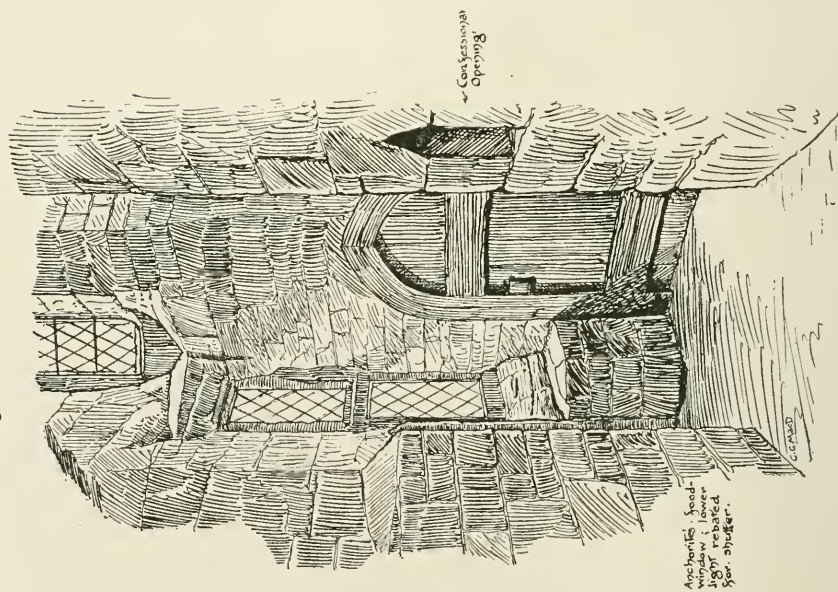


FIG. 5.

S^t. Doulagh's Ch.
Co. Dublin.
N.W. Corner of Anchorite's Cell.

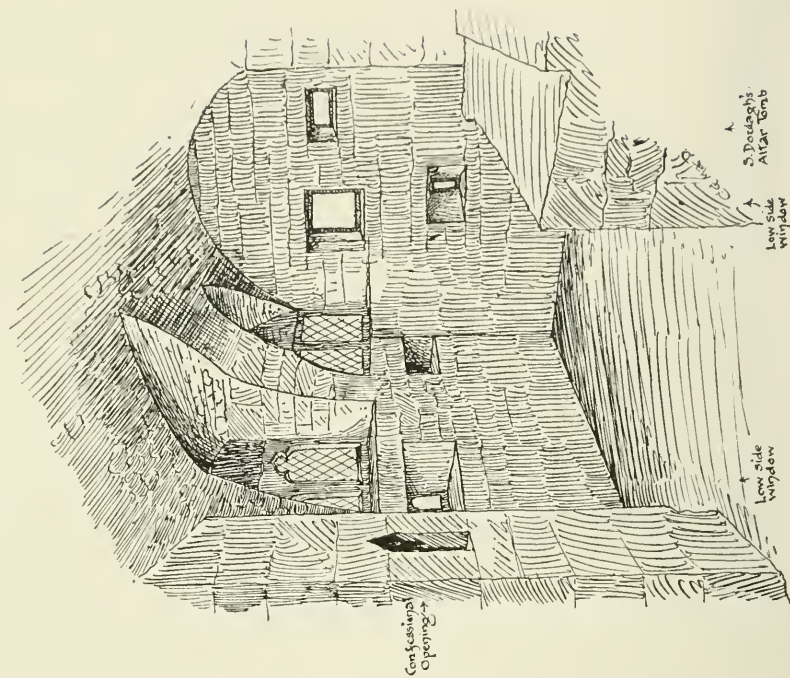


FIG. 6.

I have always argued, and I think that the evidence from St. Doulagh's and the other Irish examples strengthens the plea, that in endeavouring to ascertain the purpose or purposes served by low side windows, regard should be had to the evidence furnished by uses in conventual churches and in anchorites' cells. But while I maintain that any fair weighing of the evidence from all sources *must* admit the confessional use, as at least one of those to which these openings were put, I have expressly guarded myself against the statement, ridiculous upon the face of it, that *every* low side window was made and used for the purpose of auricular confession.

The object of this short paper will have been attained if I have shown that low side windows are to be found in Ireland, and also if the directing attention to these few instances should lead to the discovery of other examples in that country.¹

NOTE.

At the meeting of the Institute at which the preceding paper was read, a number of lantern illustrations of English low side windows were given, selected either as being typical or as possessing exceptional features.

It seems on the whole undesirable to include a full description of these within the limits of the present paper, but the interest aroused among ecclesiologists by this puzzling feature of ancient churches causes me to think that a list of the examples exhibited on this occasion will be of service in directing to them the attention of those interested in the subject.

¹ I should be deeply grateful for any information, sent through our Hon. Secretary, in regard to any other such examples. Research, examination and comparison, together with the light that

may be furnished by ancient documents such as building accounts, will surely some day give us the authoritative information for which archaeologists have so long been seeking.

SELECTED LIST OF LOW SIDE WINDOWS IN ENGLAND.

BERKS. LYDFORD.

NORTH HINKSEY.

BUCKS. ASTON CLINTON.

South side of chancel : a sub-transom opening of one light beneath a two-light window, date *c.* 1300.

WINGRAVE.

North wall of chancel : early fourteenth-century trefoiled lancet.

DRAYTON BEAUCHAMP.

North wall of chancel : a late fifteenth-century trefoil-headed opening.

BUCKLAND.

South wall of chancel : a thirteenth-century lancet.

SOULBURY.

Both sides of chancel : a two-light window, date *c.* 1400.

DORSET. STINSFORD.

Small lancet slit in a squint-passage between nave and chancel on south side.

SHEDLAND.

South side : square opening.

TARRANT RUSHTON.

South side of chancel : early fourteenth-century trefoiled lancet. West wall of north transept early thirteenth-century lancet.

HANTS. HEADBOURNE WORTHY.

South side of chancel : a two-light plate-tracery window with sub-transom openings, date *c.* 1280.

BURITON.

South side : a two-light window with rebated opening beneath the western light, date *c.* 1260.

BREAMORE.

South side of chancel : a two-light fifteenth-century window.

HUNTS. STOW LONGA.

South side of chancel : a rich early fifteenth-century two-light transomed opening.

KENT. HARTLEY.

South side of chancel: trefoil-headed with sub-transom opening, date c. 1260; valuable as retaining its original shutter and grille.

There are two other opening of this class in the church.

NORTHANTS. BYFIELD.

A fifteenth-century two-light opening squeezed in between a large early fourteenth-century window and the east wall of the nave.

MILTON.

WALGRAVE.

MORETON PINKNEY.

Two square-headed thirteenth-century openings, north and south.

SUDBOROUGH.

FAWSLEY.

A late fifteenth-century square-headed window with sub-transom opening.

GRAFTON UNDERWOOD.

A very small two-light opening, date c. 1340, by the side of a large window.

SUFFOLK. HEPWORTH.

South side of chancel: square-headed traceried opening, discovered in 1901.

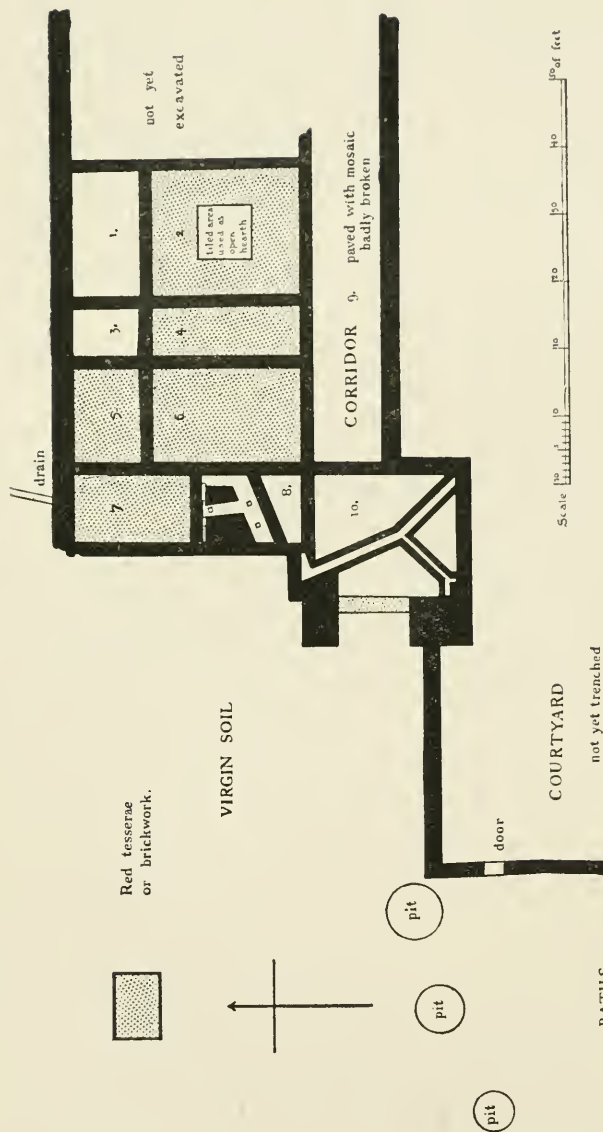
YORKS. CALVERLEY.

South side of chancel: a two-light window with sub-transom openings, date c. 1340.

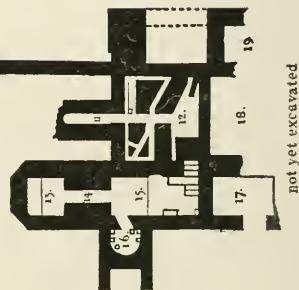
TANFIELD.

A square-headed double opening in a buttress projection, south side of nave.

I have not included the Surrey and Sussex examples in this list, as I have dealt with them at some length in the *Collections* of the archaeological societies of these counties. Essex is also omitted as it requires fuller treatment than can here be given. There are between twenty and thirty low side windows in Surrey and nearly one hundred in Sussex.



BATHS



THE STROOD ROMAN VILLA, PETERSFIELD, HANTS.

Showing, with temporary notation, parts excavated June - August 1907.

H. M. GARDNER, M.A., F.S.A.



THE STROUD ROMAN VILLA, PETERSFIELD, HANTS.
REPORT ON FIRST SEASON'S EXCAVATION, 1907.

By A. MORAY WILLIAMS, B.A.

The Stroud is a tract of some two hundred acres which formerly comprised a common, lying a mile west of Petersfield, at one end of the long valley which stretches eastwards into Sussex as far as Midhurst and Petworth. Here, one field south from the Winchester road, lie the foundations of a large Romano-British villa of the Constantine period. East of it, in the valley, stretched the forest; north, south, and west above it rose the downs: an isolated little community, and in its position typical of the security of late-empire villa-life. South of it, at Rowland's Castle, and just above it on the downs at Froxfield, similar foundations have been noticed; but here in the valley, where the forest ruled, the fact of their existence comes with some surprise.

The site is divided from the high-road by a field where eight years ago were found a lead coffin and a skeleton, said to be "Roman." In the spring of last year I trenched the field behind and found the house, a large one of the courtyard type. One season's work has partially laid bare two wings.

Situated on the Folkestone beds of clay and sand, brick and the local green sandstone are the main features of its masonry. There is no flint, and the walls are laid directly on pugged clay. The year's excavations already show that we are dealing with more than one period of occupation, though it is not as yet possible to bring into any coherence the details of each structural change. As this is a preliminary report only, I will not enter into details of dimension, and the notation on the accompanying plan is not intended to be permanent.

To deal first with the north wing, Rooms 1-4, seem at one period to have formed the culinary department of the

house. No. 1 was paved with square tiles, No. 2 with red brick *tesserae*, on the top of which in the centre of the room was laid a tiled area cracked through and through with fire. Nos. 3 and 4 were evidently once a corridor dividing the eastern half of this wing from the living-rooms beyond, but a later cross-wall had cut off one end, forming, it seems, an extra small kitchen, for here a whole box-tile and much burnt matter, including three small cooking-vessels, were found. One of the vessels contained bones. Rooms 5, 6, and 7 were paved with red *tesserae*, those in No. 7 being very coarse. Part of a large quern had fallen and made a fracture in the floor of No. 6.

No. 8 was a very interesting room. It had once contained a hypocaust, but this had been put out of use. The flue-passages were blocked up, and the box-tiles used to reface its walls. No less than five of these were found intact, all placed *horizontally* along the wall.

This group of rooms was flanked on the south side by a wide corridor, paved with a patterned mosaic, so broken, however, that its design could not well be traced. It opened west into a large chamber (No. 10) which seems to have been the vestibule of this northern wing. Three hot-air ducts ran along the floor from the same fire which once heated the hypocaust in No. 8. But here, again, some added masonry had blocked the passage. This vestibule probably represented at one time the main entrance to the wing, and vestiges of an elaborate doorway can still be noticed in the shape of a wide sill, roughly levelled, with roofing-tiles, perhaps for carrying a stone slab, and flanked by two wide piers of masonry, foundations, doubtless, of a columned porch.

Starting from the southernmost pier, a wall led west for 35 feet, at which point it turned abruptly south; and 10 feet from the turn was the well-preserved sill of a narrow doorway, a postern gate, as it were, leading from the courtyard to the back premises, where already three pits have been discovered.

At fifty feet from the turn, another block of continuous masonry was found, which proved to be an elaborate group of bath-chambers, of which some half-dozen at present have been excavated: and the group shows no

signs of giving out. Here, again, alterations and additions are sufficiently evident as to prevent in this report any description of the group as a coherent whole. It is a labyrinth of many periods, whose mysteries another season's work will help to solve.

To take the rooms in detail, No. 11 was an arched passage¹ and *præfurnium*, which fed the channelled hypocaust in No. 12, a chamber distinguished from the rest by the solidity and finish of its masonry. Its walls, as well as floor, were heated. A flight of steps at one time led out of it in its south-west corner and down again into the adjoining bath, No. 15.

Nos. 13 and 14 comprised a T-shaped *præfurnium* and bricked passage heating the chambers Nos. 15 and 16; of these, the former was an oblong bath, or possibly two baths, approached by steps, and lined with large brick tiles over a thick layer of *opus signinum*. It had a small oblong basin in its floor. No. 16 was a small semi-circular bath, heated by a hypocaust, of which some of the *pilæ* are still in position. It seemed at first to be a separate block and added to the rest, but a comparison with other plans of Roman and Romano-British bath groups shows the arrangement to be not unusual. In fact, I am inclined to look upon it as the development of a standard plan. For the present, however, we may compare the plans of baths in the Chedworth Villa, Gloucester,² and in the Brislington Villa, Somerset.³ The side walls of this little bath projected in a somewhat curious manner. As buttresses, these projections seem superfluous, and I venture to suggest that they served as supports for a large tank of water to supply the bath below. No. 17 was a sunk tank paved with tiles, which were well laid on a thick bed of *opus signinum*. Its walls were of brick throughout and were coated with *opus signinum* and layers of red wall-plaster to a thickness of several inches. If this were a bath, as its floor and tank-like appearance seem to indicate, then the red paint was water-proof, for it continued to the floor. As a matter

¹ The springs of this arch were of large flanged roofing-tiles, divided by mortar.

² *Archæologia*, lix, pl. lvii.

³ *Vict. Co. Hist., Somerset*, i, 304. See also plans of Roman villa at Colerne,

Wilts (excavated 1854), *Arch. Journ.*, xiii, 328, and at Apethorpe, Northants, *Vict. Co. Hist., Northants*, i, 191, though here there is no protruding apse.

of fact, during the heavy rains of last autumn, this plastering was submerged for many days and the colours took no harm. No. 18 in this group is not yet sufficiently excavated. It seems to have had an *opus signinum* floor. And No. 19 appears to be the beginning of another corridor.

Finds of smaller objects were frequent, and included more than twenty bronze coins, ranging in date from A.D. 270 to 350. Iron objects included a good door-key and some instruments found at the bottom of one of the baths; the latter have a slight curve in them and seem to be a rough kind of *strigil*.¹ Pottery of the usual types were well represented, and included a fine New Forest vase, which has been completely restored. Samian sherds were rather rare. One small piece of Caistor was inscribed Æ, the finals of a word. A piece of tile had the impress of a man's hand, and showed the mark of what seemed to be a heavy ring on one of the fingers. Glass fragments were numerous, mainly from the windows of the house, while animal bones and oyster shells were found in profusion. In addition to the two usual types of roofing-tile, this excavation has yielded a third kind, namely, a pentagonal slab of brick. These are made of an exceptionally good clay,² and, from the fact that practically all of them were found built into walls, seem to have belonged to an early period of the occupation of the villa. In fact, all the evidence (though I speak with all reserve at this early stage of the excavation) points to a decadence rather than to an improvement in the successive stages in the architectural history of this house. The Stroud Villa, then, is a large one of the courtyard, and perhaps of the Brading type, and it is important that further exploration be made to ascertain its proper plan. This, if funds permit, will be carried out this year.

¹ This suggestion is not supported by others who have seen them.

² None of them, however, are stamped.



ARCHITECTURAL NOTES ON THE CHAPEL OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JAMES, TAMWORTH.

By C. LYNAM, F.S.A.

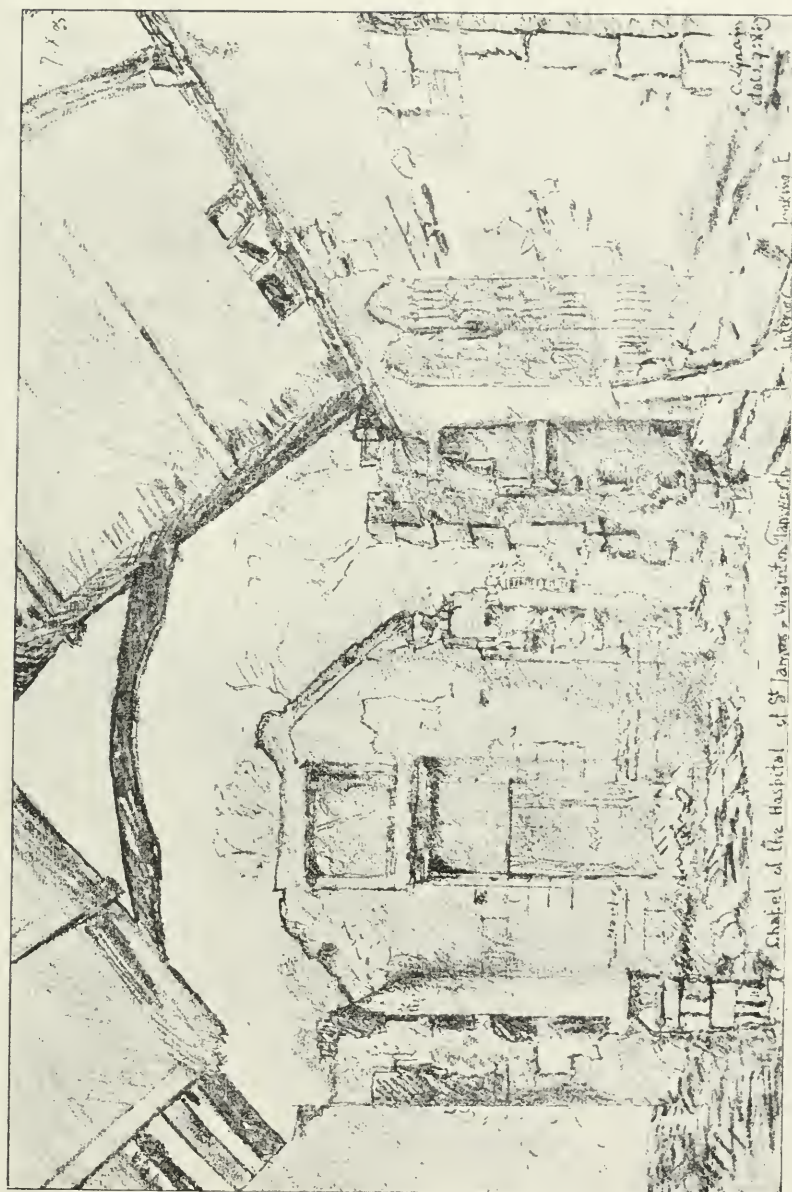
The hospital of St. James, close to Tamworth, was founded by Philip de Marmyon, who, in the year 1285, assigned property to the master of the hospital sufficient to maintain five priests to celebrate divine service there. This hospital remained to the time of Henry VIII; and in 1534, when Robert Perrott was chaplain, was endowed with lands valued at £3 6s. 8*d.* annually.

The remains of the "spital-chapel," now converted into a small dwelling house and barn, still stand at a very little distance from the northern boundary of the old borough of Tamworth. It is situate in the angle formed by the junction of the Wigginton and Ashby de la Zouch roads about two-thirds of a mile from the parish church of St. Editha at Tamworth, and is in the parish of Wigginton. Its area is in the midst of land now laid out for building purposes: in fact, it is part of a site recently purchased for building upon at a building-land price.

The owner of the land and the chapel upon it, entered upon his building arrangements with the intent of taking down the little ruin, but the interest attached to it having been brought to his notice, he has offered the land and building to a local committee of archaeologists upon generous terms which have been accepted. The purchase has been effected and the land fenced in, but lack of funds has precluded any attempt to preserve the fabric of the chapel, which after the frosts of this winter is in a dangerous condition, but it is hoped that the building may be restored to its original use and that services will be resumed and maintained.

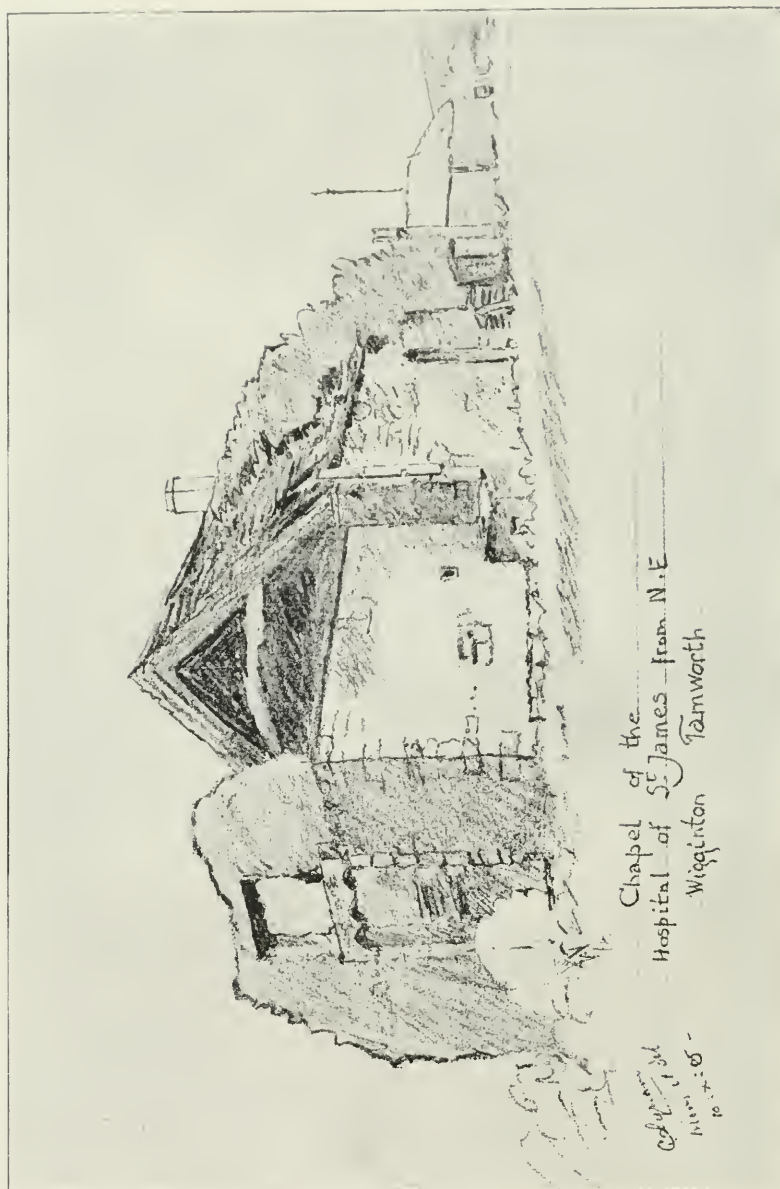
The plan of the chapel is of the earliest and simplest

type, consisting of a nave 21 feet 3 inches long and 14 feet 8 inches wide inside, and a chancel 14 feet 9 inches long and 10 feet 10 inches wide. Its last use was that of a dwelling house, and its perversion to that purpose brought about much mischief to the original structure. Its west wall was taken down and one of bricks containing a fire-place and domestic windows was substituted. The south and east walls of the chancel were partly taken down and pierced for windows, and the south wall of the nave was broken into for the insertion of a window. The chancel arch was removed and the void in its wall made considerably wider. At the present time the chancel is roofless and that of the nave is in a bad condition. Notwithstanding all this destruction there still remains a most interesting little building bearing its own unerring testimony to its very ancient origin and to later alterations. Except the west wall all the others remain very much as they were first built. There is detail sufficient remaining to make it apparent that the chapel was built in the Norman period. The masonry of its walls, the north doorway and the remaining impost on the line of the spring of the chancel arch and the base mould on the north flank are all clearly indicative of the work of this date. The architectural feature of main interest is the south doorway, which is an insertion of an exquisite early example of the Early English period. The window south of the nave, with its head of two lights and its upper jambs of the right width for them, is also of architectural interest, and not less so is the fact that the wall beneath this window had been in early times converted into a doorway, the jambs and other features of which still remain. At the east end of the chancel the head and jambs and sill of a window of three lights are still preserved, corresponding with the window to the south of the nave, but these windows are later insertions into the early walls. It is probable that the little church depended for its window light on a few small single openings in each of its walls. The accompanying drawings and sketches roughly illustrate the architectural character of the building as it now appears, and the block plan denotes its position on the site and the approaches to it.









In addition to the cost of the site and building, the expense of restoration will have to be met, but the character of the work carried out will be of the strictest conservative kind, and therefore nothing more than simple repair and reinstatement will be attempted, though at the same time it must be brought up to a due fitness for church attendance.¹

¹ It is anticipated that altogether the cost of purchase and restoration will amount to £350, a very small sum having regard to the value of the structure, which

will thereby be preserved. Mr. Lynam, F.S.A., of Stoke-upon-Trent, will be happy to receive any contributions to this end.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

February 5th, 1908.

Mr. MILL STEPHENSON, *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

Mr. FRANCIS BOND, M.A., F.G.S., on behalf of the author, Mr. ALBERT HARTSHORNE, F.S.A., who was absent through illness, read a paper on "Oxford in the time of William III. and Anne."

Votes of thanks were accorded the author and the reader of the paper.

March 4th, 1908.

Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH, *President*, in the Chair.

Mr. LEONARD M. MAY, on behalf of the author, Mr. ALBERT HARTSHORNE, F.S.A., who was absent through illness, read a paper on "Holdenley Manor, Church and House," illustrated by plans and drawings.

Mr. MAY also called the attention of the meeting to the alterations which were being carried on at Long Stanton church, Cambs., in opening up the Hatton chapel, which had been blocked up for over a hundred years, thus displaying from the inside of the church three very beautiful and uncommon flamboyant windows. The PRESIDENT and Mr. ETHERINGTON SMITH joined in the discussion, after which votes of thanks were accorded the author and the reader of the paper.



THE EVOLUTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF SOME ANGLO-SAXON BROOCHES.¹

By REGINALD A. SMITH, F.S.A.

Of recent years much attention has been given, especially in Scandinavia, to the large number of brooches which have come down to us from the Bronze and Early Iron Ages; and I propose to draw on some of this material, but shall not attempt more than a summary of the information now available with regard to the leading types of the pagan Anglo-Saxon period. In a single paper more would be impossible; and though my treatment of the subject may appear elementary and commonplace, it will, I hope, be a convenience to have the characteristics of the principal types brought together and illustrated, if only to introduce a little system into their description and to range them in chronological sequence. In recognition of the ability and enterprise displayed by my friend Mr. Schetelig, of the Bergen Museum, in a recent treatise in English on the cruciform brooch,² I shall begin with that type, which is as common as any in England; but I shall, throughout, be also deeply indebted to several distinguished archaeologists³ who have worthily maintained the Scandinavian tradition and have brought the study of brooches to a fine art. I can do no more on the present occasion than apply their results to England, and furnish a few statistics as to the distribution of the types concerned in those parts of England colonised by the pagan English.

¹ Read before the Institute, November 6th, 1907.

² Haakon Schetelig, *The Cruciform Brooches of Norway* (Bergen, 1906).

³ The following works may be consulted with profit:

Dr. Hans Hildebrand, *Bidrag till Spännets historia*, Antiquarisk Tidskrift för Sverige, iv, 25.

Prof. Oscar Montelius, *Öfversigt*

öfver den nordiska forntidens perioder, Svenska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift, pt. 25.

Sven Söderberg, *Om djurornamentiken under folkvandringstiden*, Antiquarisk Tidskrift för Sverige, xi, pt. 3.

Bernhard Salin, *Die altgermanische Thierornamentik*, admirably summarised in review by T. J. Arne, *Nordisk Tidskrift*, 1905, p. 69.

The term "cruciform" as applied to English specimens is open to misconstruction in more than one way, and I have generally substituted the term "long brooch" in describing this series to avoid ambiguity. In these days of flourishing archaeological societies, it is perhaps unnecessary to insist that cruciform has no reference, in this connection, to the Christian symbol, as these brooches were worn by, and buried with, the pagan Teutonic immigrants of the sixth century; but the term may prove a stumbling-block for another reason. Though there

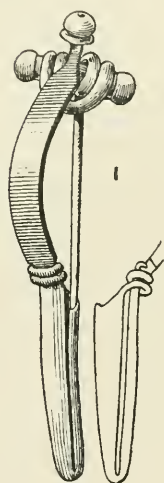


FIG. 1.

Bronze brooch
with returned foot,
Seania, Sweden ($\frac{2}{3}$),
about A.D. 350.

are obvious features common to figs. 1-7, and the cross can be recognised in figs. 2, 4, 6, 7, the remaining specimens cannot in their present condition be so described without qualification. In these cases, which include the majority of the English cruciforms, the knobs that represent the arms of the cross have disappeared, and the most striking characteristic of a brooch so wanting is its length, especially when contrasted with such circular forms as figs. 15-23. In Scandinavia, for reasons presently to be given, the cross-pattern is constant, and the term "cruciform" is generally accepted.

Till recently it was generally believed that the so-called "cruciform" brooch was derived from the Roman provincial "crossbow" type which was common throughout the Roman empire in the fourth century of our era; but it is now evident that the beginnings of the type are to be found in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea, and the discoveries at Kertch in the Crimea have thrown a good deal of light on the history of the third century in Europe. About A.D. 200 a stream of influence if not of migration,¹ started from South Russia and passed first to Eastern Prussia, then west by the Baltic coast to Denmark, Sweden, and above all Norway, traces of the same movement being also found in Schleswig and

¹ For this route see Prof. Petrie *Migrations*, [20]; *Journ. Royal Anthropol. Inst.*, xxxvi, 209.

the mosses of Jutland. In Kertch is found among other brooches a type with narrow arched bow and returned foot, the wire-like end of which is bound round the lower part of the bow (fig. 1). It is itself a derivative of the La Tène brooch-type which is found over a large part of Europe during the last four centuries, B.C.; but this particular variety seems to be confined to an eastern area ranging from the Black Sea to the eastern Baltic. The

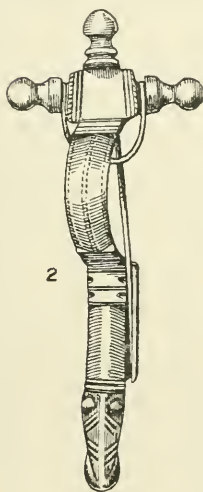
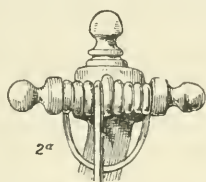


FIG. 2.

Primitive long brooch,
Öland, Sweden ($\frac{1}{2}$),
early fifth century
(2a, back of head).

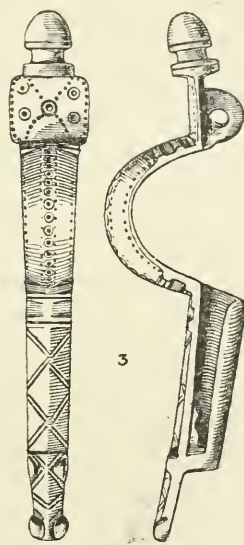


FIG. 3.

Bronze long brooch,
probably from England ($\frac{1}{2}$),
early fifth century.

spring is of the La Tène type, *i.e.*, a series of bilateral coils, but passing round a short cross-bar which terminates in knobs; another knob is attached to the extremity of the bow, called the head of the brooch, and the essential features of this Crimean brooch can be traced all through the series (figs. 1-7).

The prototype is seen to have a foot almost as long as the bow, and to be provided with a long socket or catch

for the pin-head when in use. In the early stages of development this long catch is prominent (figs. 2, 3), but gradually shortens and moves away from the extremity of the foot, fig. 2 in this respect being more advanced than fig. 3, though the former best illustrates the transition from fig. 1, as the head is perfect. Before this brooch-type reached England it underwent changes due to Roman influence in Germany, and the facets so common on metal work in the late Roman period are shown in fig. 2 representing the coils seen at the junction of bow and foot in fig. 1; while another tendency of the period is visible in the animal-head termination of the foot. This ornament was of north German origin and may be best described as a horse's head seen from the front, the salient points being the eyes and nostrils, the latter rounding off the foot; while the eyes are separated from the bow by a bevelled surface, sometimes engraved, as in fig. 3. The bow is also bevelled and sometimes ornamented along the central ridges and edges, and the beginnings of the head-plate are well seen in fig. 2. This expansion of the bar that primarily continued the bow and held the central knob and cross-bar for the spring, was perhaps due to a desire to conceal the spring of the pin, but it incidentally gave scope for additional ornamentation, and grew larger and larger. Fig. 2A is a back view of the head, showing the spring coiled round a bar that passes through an eyelet attached to the head-plate, the chord that provides the tension being still visible from the front. The next specimen (fig. 3) has a somewhat earlier form of catch, but a decorated head-plate and more pronounced knob; and the side view shows the eyelet that once held the cross-bar which is now missing. Its original appearance can easily be inferred from fig. 2; and it is quite possible that fig. 3 was found in East Anglia. It was not, however, till the next stage was reached that specimens were at all common in England, and their appearance here in the fifth century points to a Scandinavian invasion long prior to the Viking period. It is, moreover, clear from a comparison of specimens, that during the fifth century the connection is with Denmark and the mouth of the Elbe, rather than with Norway or Sweden; and the main points of resemblance may here be enumerated.

English and Danish "cruciform" brooches are chiefly distinguished from contemporary specimens in Norway and Sweden by the manner in which the side-knobs are attached to the head-plate. They are not (at least, during the fifth century) cast all in one piece, but at first have the side-knobs quite independent of the head-plate, and later have the edges of the head-plate reduced by bevelling so as to fit into notches cut in the knobs that terminate the cross-bar of the spring. The result is that these knobs are generally missing altogether, as the bar was only of wire and peculiarly liable to decay, so that the knobs have generally been lost, as in figs. 3 and 5.

Further, on Danish and English specimens, the nostrils of the horse are a pair of semicircular, slightly convex wings, while the Norwegian brooches have instead two hemispherical knobs in that position. The English, and still more the Danish, examples have a flatter bow than those from the Scandinavian peninsula; and the head-plate is frequently bent concave at the back so as to give more play for the spring-coil.

The next illustration (fig. 4) shows considerable development and the peculiarly English tendency to broad flat forms, which at a later stage afforded space for animal ornament. The bevelled edges of the head-plate already mentioned are now no longer functional, as the side-knobs are not attached to the cross-bar but cast in one piece with the brooch, as commonly in Norway and Sweden; and the raised panel in the centre of the head-plate survive merely as an ornamental feature. This is usually the case with Norwegian specimens, and at this stage the connection between England and Denmark had evidently been interrupted, and relations established with the western coast of Norway. This new connection dates

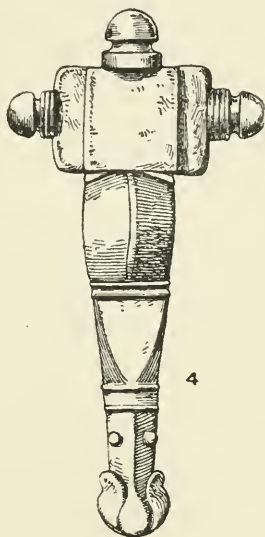


FIG. 4.

Bronze long brooch, Little
Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire (3),
early sixth century.

from the close of the fifth century, and lasted at any rate to the middle of the next, when the cruciform brooches of Norway came to an end, and England was left to continue their development or degradation. An increase of width is seen in the head-plate, the bow and the nostrils of the horse-head terminal, but the essential features remain the same, and fig. 4 may be regarded as a typical specimen of the early long brooch in England.

During this period a peculiar notch in the moulding next the eyes of the horse, in the line of the main axis, is sometimes noticed. No explanation of this peculiarity is forthcoming, but it is confined to English specimens.

The decoration of the brooch is mainly executed in the casting, and consists of facets and mouldings at intervals along the foot; but simple punched patterns also occur, generally along the edges of the raised panel of the head-plate. The knobs, which have become part of the decoration, are no longer cast complete, but are flat or hollowed out at the back, to economise the metal as well as to have an even surface to rest on the clothing when in use.

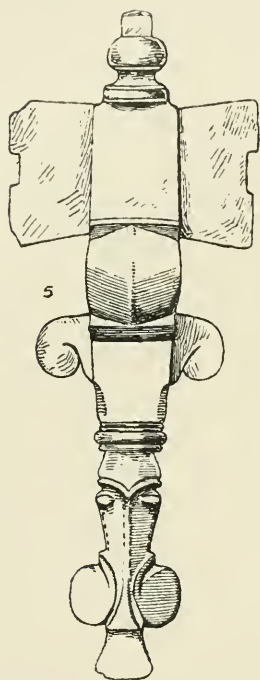


FIG. 5.

Bronze long brooch,
Kenninghall, Norfolk ($\frac{2}{3}$),
mid-sixth century.

The next specimen, illustrated in fig. 5, ushers in the later Anglo-Saxon series, though it happens also to have had the side-knobs attached in the primitive manner. The notches in the head-plate show clearly enough where and how the knobs now lost were originally attached and recall specimens of the period before 500; but there are other features that show a new departure. The top knob has a projection that becomes more and more conspicuous in England, and there is an analogous extension of the foot, a wedge springing from between the nostrils, which are themselves more prominent than heretofore. Above

all, there are wings added to the foot just below the bow, a feature that may be conveniently held to mark the later period. These wings are not confined to this country, but occur on late and decadent examples in Norway (A.D. 500-550), where they would no doubt have had a parallel development if the series had not there been brought to an end sooner than on this side of the North Sea.

The Anglo-Saxon preference for broad effects and lavish ornament had now full play, and the somewhat severe forms of the early period were soon elaborated almost beyond recognition. With a view to getting the largest possible surface with a given weight of metal, the brooch was cast thinner and flatter than before, and all extremities extravagantly ornamented. It is at this stage that the term "cruciform" may most fittingly be applied to English specimens, for the knobs are now a permanent addition to the head-plate and have been flattened out to provide a surface for deep engraving, or rather for designs cast in that style. The wedge or fan-shaped projection from between the nostrils has been exaggerated, and similar forms have been added to the three arms of the head. The plain panel just below the bow certainly survives, but is flanked by engraved wings, and the corresponding space in the centre of the head-plate of fig. 6, bears an engraved swastika, while the bow has lost its central ridge and bears a raised panel at the top, which should be compared with that on the end of the foot of fig. 7.

In the history of Teutonic art, the sixth century is marked by the adoption of animal motives, which will be referred to in connection with other types of brooches, but may here be briefly described. It was more probably from the East, by way of South Russia, than from a classical source that the Teutonic artist derived the nondescript quadruped that figures on so many of the ornaments of northern Europe between A.D. 500 and 800. At first the animal is represented practically complete and in a recognisable form, but dissolution soon sets in, and the animal is dismembered so as to fit readily into any given space. The eye and snout are most often used, as on fig. 7, but the hind-leg is frequently seen, as fig. 6,

and is but seldom attached to the head by a ribbon-like body. The limbs are inserted without any regard to anatomy, and are often repeated in rows where it would not be easy to accommodate the remainder of the animal. The development of the forms is a vast and intricate subject, and a reference need only be added here to Dr. Bernhard Salin's masterly treatment of it in *Die altgermanische Thierornamentik*.

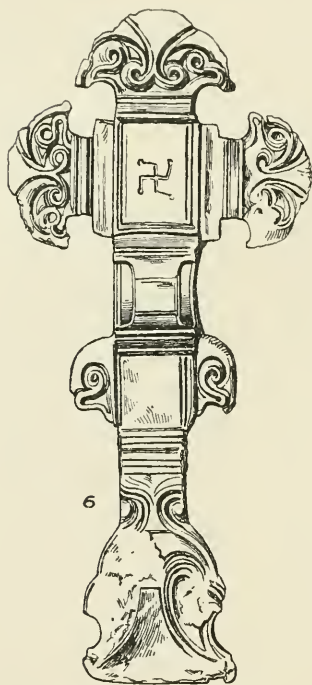


FIG. 6.

Bronze cruciform brooch, Sleaford, Lincs. (½), late sixth century.

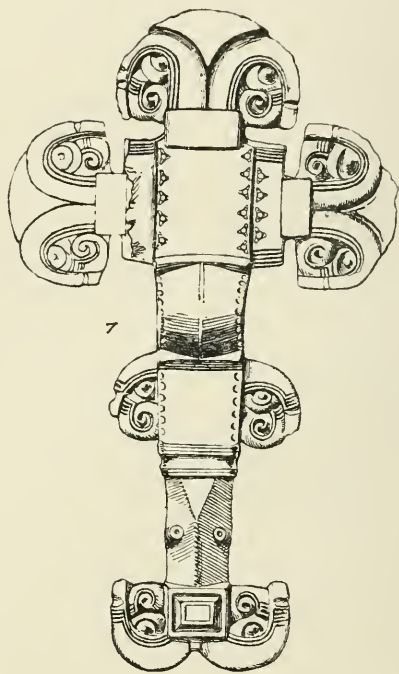


FIG. 7.

Bronze cruciform brooch, Sleaford, Lincs. (¾), early seventh century.

The particular form of animal head occurring in pairs on all the extremities of fig. 7 have been assigned to the second stage of animal-ornament (600–700), and the specimen illustrated may be regarded as the last stage in the development of the cruciform brooch. Comparison with fig. 6 will explain its grotesque appearance, and the blend of traditional and novel details is of interest. Stamped patterns, as of old, fringe the central panel of the

head-plate, the bow and adjoining plate of the foot; while the collars of the knobs are now replaced by oblong plates of silver, and an oblong garnet setting occupies the space between the nostrils, these in their turn being entirely metamorphosed. The decoration of this brooch was evidently influenced by the contemporary square-headed type that may conveniently be considered next.

The series of large square-headed brooches begins for our present purpose with a specimen from Denmark (fig. 8), which, like earlier examples of this type, is of silver. It can be traced still further back in Denmark and the countries between the Baltic and Black Sea, but at the stage here illustrated the type had acquired characteristics that are common to all the specimens in England. The square (or rather oblong) head-plate originally served to connect and screen two, three or more rods on which were wound spiral coils of wire as though to give tension to the pin, but only one was functional. The unnecessary coils

were soon omitted, and the bar that held the spiral spring passed through a single eyelet behind the head-plate, which at this stage is ornamented with semi-classical patterns, soon to be ousted by Teutonic animal-motives. The open-jawed heads of monsters make their appearance at this stage immediately below the bow and remain there throughout, though much conventionalised.

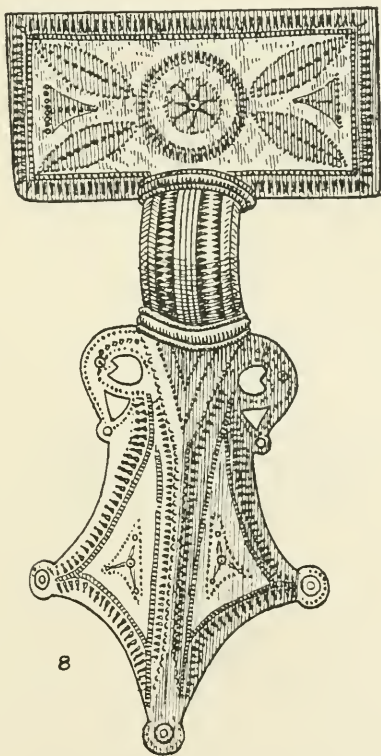


FIG. 8.

Silver square-headed brooch, Zealand, Denmark (3), fifth century.

Northern examples of this type generally have the greatest width of foot below its centre, while parallel specimens in central Europe have the foot widest above the centre, and possess other peculiarities that need not be detailed here, as the southern type is practically unknown from England. The specimen illustrated shows classical influence in the spaces left unornamented, and comparison with fig. 9 is

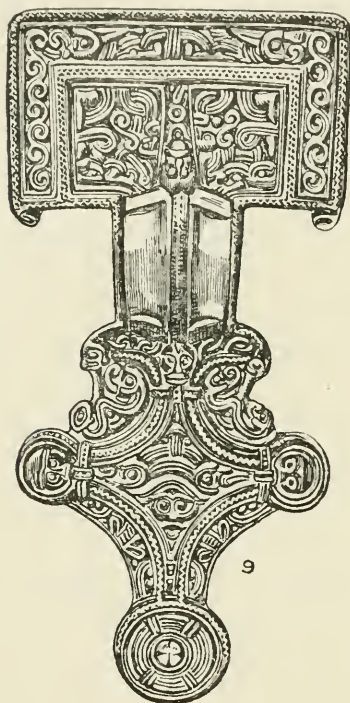


FIG. 9.

Bronze-gilt square-headed brooch,
Chessell Down, Isle of Wight ($\frac{2}{3}$),
mid-sixth century.

instructive as showing the contrast between the Roman and Teutonic ideas of decoration. While the triangular spaces in the middle of the foot become crowded with detail and reduced in size, the three round terminals of the foot increase in size, and, at least in England, become a leading feature. Animal-motives were adopted in the Teutonic world late in the fifth century, and fig. 9 is a late example of the style in vogue during the sixth century. A remnant of the running scroll common in the preceding period may be seen in the side-borders of the head-plate, and the essential features of the foot remain, though the

central rib has disappeared. The metal then in general use for brooches was bronze, and the present specimen is richly gilt. Round the edge of the head and the discs of the foot is a chevron pattern executed in niello and silver, the contrast of colours being very popular at that time; and the head and foot are crowded with dislocated limbs of the stock quadruped, that can only be recognised by the eye of faith. There seems

little doubt also that in the present instance the human face is represented in the side terminals of the foot. In some specimens these terminals are embellished with thin silver discs that contrast with the gilt surface of the brooch and recall the technique of the early stages of this type of brooch, when silver was plentiful.

A further stage is marked by fig. 10, which retains the midrib of the foot but has very decadent details. The animal ornament overflows onto the bow, and the outer rim of the head is filled with repetitions of a meaningless spectacle-like pattern, while the inner portion above the bow displays the last vestiges of animal forms. The head is no longer straight-sided, the curves being aided by projections from the angles, the upper pair of which are ornamented, like the end of the foot, each with a setting of purple enamel. The form, position and colour of these settings may be perhaps explained by reference to smaller square-headed specimens¹ found in the same Jutish

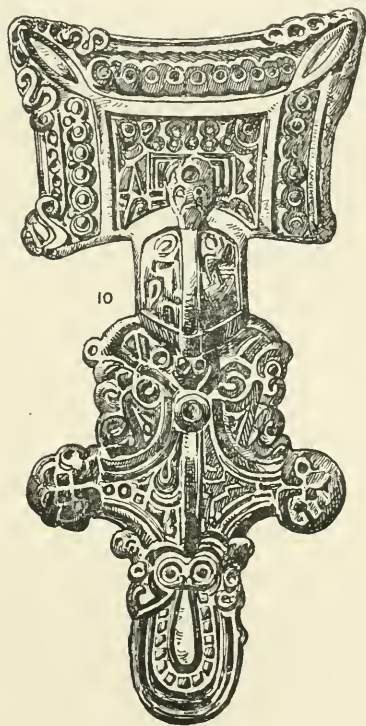


FIG. 10.

Bronze-gilt square-headed brooch,
St. Nicholas, Warwick ($\frac{3}{4}$),
late sixth century.

cemetery as fig. 9. This smaller series is evidently derived from the same prototype and makes up in ornament what it lacks in size. The gilt and nielloed surface is further enriched by garnet settings of oblong, lozenge, triangular and spindle forms, the last pointing to the upper angles of the head, and the oblong occupying the same position as on fig. 7.

¹ Figured in colours in *Vict. Co. Hist. Hants*, i, 388, fig. 2.

The decoration seems by this time to have lost all meaning, and the workmanship shows a great falling-off, there being as yet no signs of the artistic revival that took place in the Teutonic world early in the seventh century.

English examples of this type can be easily distinguished from the continental, the latter falling into two main groups which influenced each other to a certain extent, but evidently belong to different schools of art. Communication between the northern and southern streams of influence seems to have been by way of Hanover; and the brooches, above all, reflect the tribal migrations and affinities of the fifth and sixth centuries.

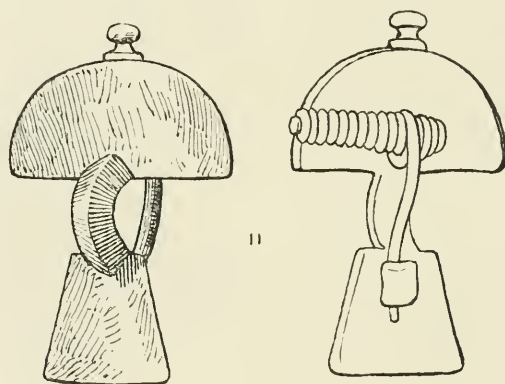


FIG. 11.

Bronze round-headed brooch, Kertch, Crimea ($\frac{1}{2}$). About A.D. 300.

It was about A.D. 400 that the northern stream from the Black Sea, already traced to the Baltic, ceased to flow, no doubt owing to the overwhelming migration of the Slavs into north Germany. At the same time a southern stream was directed from southern Russia westward up the Danube valley and eventually all over central and western Europe, though traces of this influence are clearest in southern Germany. The immediate cause of this penetration was pressure from the Huns, and during the whole of the fifth century there was hardly any connection between north and central Europe. About the year 500 contact was renewed, and it was then found that isolation for a hundred years had resulted in

an artistic development on widely different lines in the two areas. Though there followed considerable interchange of motives, the art products of north and south can usually be distinguished at a glance, and specimens of both styles occur in England. The south German artists were in closer touch with Roman provincial work and the debased classicalism of Italy, whereas the north was virtually destitute of such models, and

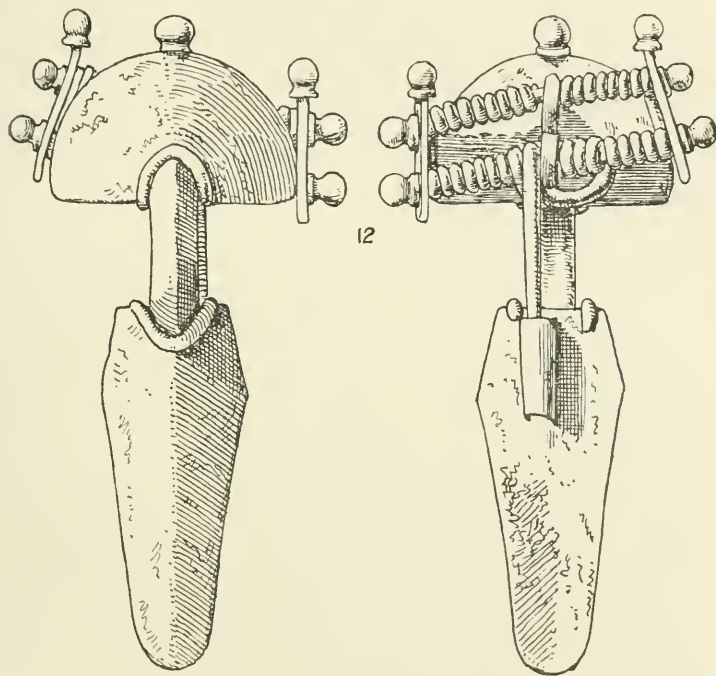


FIG. 12.

Bronze round-headed brooch, Kertch, Crimea ($\frac{1}{2}$). A.D. 350-375.

developed on original lines. It is to contact with the south that the spasmodic appearance in the north of plant and certain animal forms is due; but classical details were quickly obliterated by the Teutonic quadruped which travelled southward in its turn, and figures occasionally on specimens that bear marks of a central European origin.

It is again in the Crimea that the ancestor of the radiated brooch occurs. The characteristics of fig. 11 are

a semi-circular head, an arched bow and a spreading foot, with a blunt end that persists on certain varieties of this type (fig. 14). The spiral coil wound on an axis that passes through an eyelet behind the head gives tension to the spring, and is itself subject to extraordinary elaboration. In fig. 11 the knob at the top seems otiose, but when associated, as in fig. 12, with the terminals of the spring-axes, it becomes an essential feature of the

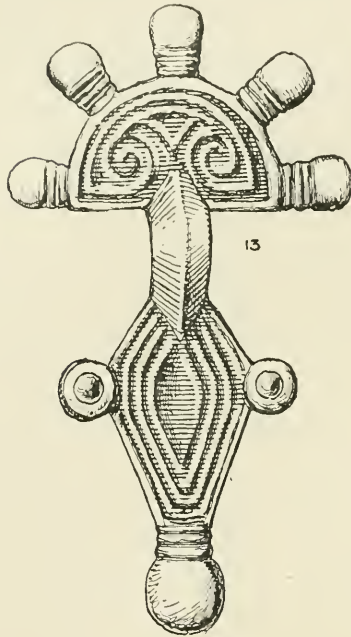


FIG. 13.

Bronze radiated brooch, Kertch, Crimea
($\frac{1}{4}$), late fourth century.

the earlier wrought silver. Further developments took place in the fifth century, the knobs changing in form but retaining their position; and the foot, either of lozenge form (as fig. 13) or with parallel sides and blunt end (fig. 14), being further enriched with gilding, niello and engraving. Garnets were plentiful at this stage¹ and occur in fig. 14 on the radiating knobs of the head, the central rib in this case having triangular

decoration. Reference has already been made to the superfluous spirals, and fig. 12 not only illustrates this fashion adequately, but also suggests the origin of another form of radiated brooch, rarely found in Britain. Another Kertch example shows a later stage, when the knobs are no longer functional but cast in one piece with the head purely as ornament. The foot has become lozenge shaped, and while the terminal takes the form of a knob, the side-angles are furnished with projecting studs. The face is also incised with simple scrolls and series of lines parallel to the margins, now that bronze-casting had replaced

¹ They are set in lavish profusion on brooches derived from fig. 12 in the famous Szilágy-Somlyó find (Hungary).

punch-marks filled with niello. The knobs and terminals frequently assume the shape of birds' heads, sometimes with garnet eyes, this nameless bird of prey being a common motive among the Gothic peoples, but apart from this it should be observed that no trace of animal ornament occurs on this type, which hardly survived the fifth century, and just overlaps with the square-headed type.

The circular form of brooch was also much affected by the Anglo-Saxons, and some of the main forms may be next considered. Of this number two types seem to be intimately connected and are sometimes found in the same cemetery, though the exact relation between them is at present obscure. They are sometimes called by the same name, but as there are essential differences between them, and one is not obviously derived from the other, it is advisable to distinguish them by name as the brooch with applied plate, and the saucer-brooch.

The title of the former is somewhat clumsy and might be replaced by composite saucer-brooch; but till more is known about them they had best be treated as independent groups. The "applied" brooch is composite, as being made up of a bronze disc-base, slightly dished and surrounded by a narrow vertical bronze band affixed at right angles to contain the cement which acts as a bed for an embossed disc of gilt bronze. The base has a hinged pin attached by two narrow slits in the plate

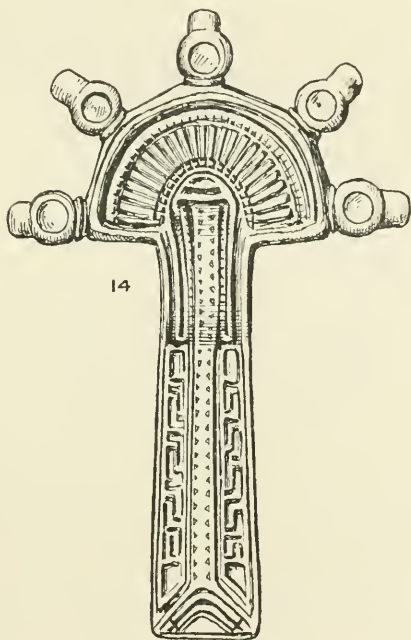


FIG. 14.
Silver-gilt radiated brooch, Suffolk ($\frac{1}{2}$),
late fifth century.

that are sometimes the only evidence that a detached disc has belonged to a brooch of this kind. A specimen (fig. 15) from Fairford, Gloucs., now in the national collection well shews the method of construction, as the applied disc is damaged and reveals the internal arrangements. The design is semi-classical, but the brooch-type does not recall any in use during the late Roman period, though perhaps we may regard this and some other early examples as Romano-British survivals in the early days of the Anglo-Saxon invasions. The plaited border is reminiscent of such Roman work as tessellated floors ;



FIG. 15.

Bronze "applied" brooch, Fairford, Gloucs. ($\frac{1}{2}$),
late fifth century.

and the inner band round the hexagonal centre, though bearing a slight resemblance to a later degenerate form of the animal-motive, is in reality composed of the Amazon-shield pattern, and there is no trace of characteristic Anglo-Saxon work on this particular specimen. At Kempston, near Bedford, animal-motives occur on this type in a band surrounding a cruci-

form design with apparently human faces in each arm (fig. 16). Other specimens¹ from this site, which is the principal one for this kind of brooch, retain traces of the classical egg-and-tongue border that is well seen on what must be an early example found at Sigy, Neufchâtel, Seine-Inférieure.² Another, probably from Lombardy, with an eagle preying on a hare embossed on the plate, belongs to the late classical period and is now in the British Museum. These discoveries suggest intercourse between the southern Midlands, Normandy and Italy in the fifth century, but such sporadic examples cannot negative the

¹ Two are figured in colours in *Vict. Co. Hist. Beds.*, i, 150, figs. 11, 13, on plate.

² Figured in *Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond.*, 1st ser. iv, 237.

view that the "applied" brooch was adopted by the Anglo-Saxons from the romanised Britons or was manufactured by the latter for their new masters. There are other indications that the Kempston cemetery did not continue in use throughout the pagan period, and 500 may be fixed as its central date.

The "saucer-brooch," properly so-called, also exhibits at times some traces of classical design, and the egg-and-tongue border already mentioned is well seen on a



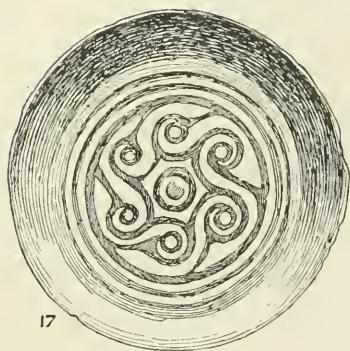
FIG. 16.

Bronze "applied" brooch, Kempston, Beds. ($\frac{1}{4}$), early sixth century.

specimen from Broughton Poggs, Oxon.¹ Kempston has yielded one with a purely cruciform pattern, and figs. 17 and 18 are also geometrical; but this type is often ornamented with the limbs of animals in the traditional Teutonic style (fig. 19). The construction of the brooch is constant and extremely simple: a stout bronze plate is dished and ornamented in the flat central space with what is called in German *Keilschnitt* or *Kerbschnitt*, a process of engraving derived from wood-carving and imitated by casting, the V-shaped incisions

¹ Figured in *Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond.*, 1st ser., iv, 73.

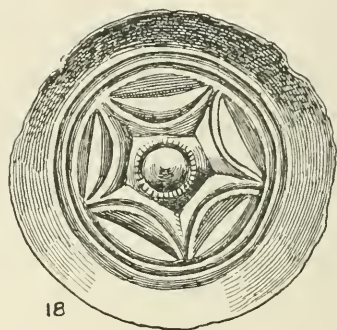
being afterwards finished off with the graving-tool and the whole of the interior water-gilt. The pin is attached as usual at the back, and works on a hinge as in the preceding type. The scroll-work seen on fig. 17 recalls bronze-work of the latest Roman provincial work; and the star-pattern (fig. 18), which also occurs on "applied" brooches, may also be comparatively early, but fig. 19 must be well on in the sixth century, to judge by the type of animal-head represented. The distribution of this type in England is of special interest (*see* p. 87), but no prototype can be found on the Continent, and it may



17

FIG. 17.

Bronze-gilt saucer brooch found in Oxfordshire ($\frac{1}{2}$), sixth century.



18

FIG. 18.

Bronze-gilt saucer brooch, Leighton Buzzard, Beds. ($\frac{1}{2}$), sixth century.

possibly be merely a variety of the applied type, reduced to its simplest form and more fitted to rough usage.

Other developments peculiar to England may be seen in the remarkable series of Kentish brooches, which require coloured illustrations to do them justice. Exceptional specimens, such as the Kingston Down brooch,¹ discovered by Bryan Faussett, cannot here be discussed, but the bulk of the round brooches made and worn by the Jutes can be conveniently divided into four classes, which are here illustrated. The commonest may be called the keystone brooch (fig. 20), from the form of the principal garnet settings, which radiate from the centre

¹ Figured in colours in *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pl. i; *Vict. Co. Hist. Kent*, i, 347, pl. i, fig. 10.

like the keystone of an arch. The specimen illustrated has secondary garnet settings of oblong form, and in the band between them, semi-circles that represent the eye of the Teutonic animal, the rest of the body having been crowded out. A constant feature in this and other jewelled Kentish brooches is a central boss of what is probably ivory, but may be pearl shell, or even meerschaum. Garnets are often inlaid in the top of these bosses, and sometimes remain after the material of the boss itself has perished. Another feature common to many Kentish brooches, of circular and other forms, is the zigzag border of silver and niello, and the material



FIG. 19.

Bronze-gilt saucer brooch found in England ($\frac{1}{2}$), late sixth century.

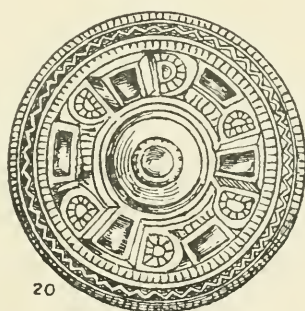


FIG. 20.

Silver keystone brooch, Gilton, Kent ($\frac{1}{2}$), late sixth century.

of the brooch itself is generally silver, more or less pure, and occasionally of gold.

A cognate variety, but of much rarer occurrence, is represented by fig. 21, which is characterised by T-shaped garnets set in a band that is otherwise filled with animal patterns (generally of a decadent nature and difficult to recognise as such), and four circular settings that probably contained blue glass. The large central boss, an outer band of garnets (and perhaps blue glass), and a toothed border of silver complete the decoration.

A richer development of the bosses is seen in fig. 22, which may be regarded as characteristic of the type with filigree and bosses, though the cell-work (*cloisonné*) is

here an equally striking feature. The Kingston brooch is of this character, and the series, though somewhat overloaded with ornament, may be regarded as the finest work of the Kentish goldsmith. The step-pattern set with garnets and blue glass is here predominant, and narrow bands of gold filigree may indicate a slight connection with the Frankish kingdom, but nothing altogether comparable is found on the Continent, and the step-patterns and other geometric designs are but poorly reproduced in the damascened (iron inlaid with silver) brooches of the middle Rhine, dating from the seventh century.

The remaining variety of jewelled brooches from Kent

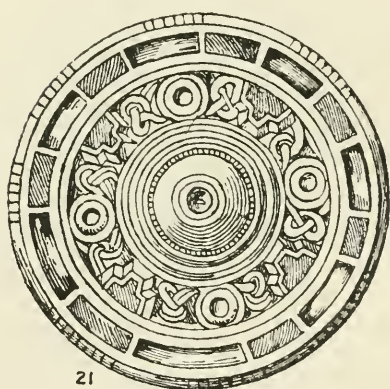


FIG. 21.

Silver brooch with 4 garnets, Kingston Down, Kent ($\frac{1}{2}$), late sixth century.

(fig. 23) has features in common with figs. 21 and 22, but is distinguished by a star-pattern with bosses between the points, which are here three in number, but are frequently four. Filigree and niello help to fill the ground, and the animal pattern does not appear in the example chosen for illustration, but as the back of the Kingston brooch is ornamented with animal

heads in the style of the seventh century, it is probable that much of the Jutish jewellery dates from a period subsequent to the landing of Augustine (A.D. 597), though prior to the discontinuance of the practice of burying ornaments with the dead. This was due to the spread of Christianity and probably fell in the seventh century, but coins (or pendants modelled from coins) of the emperors Mauricius Tiberius (*d.* 602) and Heraclius (*d.* 641), as well as of Chlotaire II, king of the Franks (*d.* 628), show that some of the richest burials may be as late as 650. If this were the case in Kent, it may well be that in other and more backward parts of the kingdom

semi-pagan burial-rites were observed throughout the seventh century.

Such are the main types of Anglo-Saxon brooches, which are conspicuous for their size and ornamentation, and so most useful for archaeological purposes, though something may yet be learnt from the smaller and more ordinary specimens that are numerous in certain districts. At the risk of repeating the obvious, I may here point out that the discovery of a brooch is generally an accident, and large numbers of the same type, or of different types, may be awaiting discovery on sites yet unexplored. It is therefore somewhat rash to found arguments on the absence of a particular type in any area; but, on the other hand, the large number of accidents to which we owe our extant specimens must be allowed a cumulative value, and every fresh find of a particular type, to use a parliamentary metaphor, counts two on a division. It may not only confirm the view that a certain type is frequent in a particular area, but it also renders it less and less probable that another type not already found in that area will ever appear there; hence there is some basis for tribal divisions in accordance with the distribution of brooches and other characteristic relics. Taking the types in the same order as before, we may assign approximate limits to the English examples of the "long" or "cruciform" brooch. Its occurrence south of the Thames is the rarest exception, and we may regard it as peculiar to the Anglian area, though small specimens more or less on the same lines are met with in Essex and in the old West Saxon area north of the Thames (p. 80), as at Kempston, Bedfordshire. Normal specimens are common in East Anglia, Cambridgeshire, Northants and Lincolnshire, all round the Fens, while



22

FIG. 22.

Gold brooch with cell-work and filigree,
Gilton, Kent ($\frac{1}{2}$), late sixth century.

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several are known from Yorkshire, but the type cannot be said to be common further north. Westwards it hardly travelled further than Leicestershire till late in the sixth century, sporadic finds of that date having been noted in Worcestershire. Large and degenerate examples, to which the term "cruciform" may be applied without misgiving, occur chiefly in Norfolk and Cambridgeshire, but eight other specimens are distributed among Lincolnshire, Rutland, Northants, Huntingdonshire, Suffolk, Warwickshire and Leicestershire, most of which came under the influence of Mercia before the middle of the seventh century.

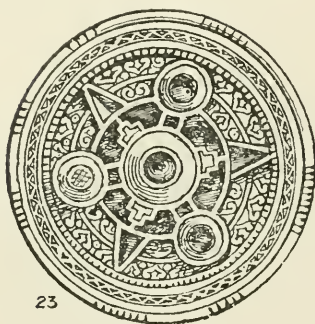


FIG. 23.

Silver brooch with star centre, Barham Down, Kent (†), late sixth century.

The distribution of the large square-headed type is more puzzling and does not seem to correspond to any tribal areas. A variety with a kind of crenellation round the head, representing an earlier fringe of knobs,¹ occurs in Oxfordshire and Cambridgeshire, Northants, Gloucestershire and Berkshire, and the medium-sized variety decorated with garnets already mentioned is apparently confined to the Jutish districts of Kent and the Isle of Wight. Typical specimens, complete or fragmentary, have been found most often in the counties of Suffolk, Northants and Leicester, but almost as many come from Cambridgeshire; three each from Norfolk and Yorkshire; two each from Warwickshire, Notts, Lincolnshire and Kent; and single examples from the counties of Huntingdon, Oxford, Gloucester and Bedford. They seem therefore to have been mostly worn by the East and Middle Anglians, and their presence in other districts may possibly be explained by the undoubted fact that they were articles of luxury, and as such procured from a distance by the wealthy, with whom they were buried.

¹ Examples from Denmark, Norway, and especially Sweden, are figured by

Salin, *op. cit.*, figs. 106, 128, 129, 130, 134.

The radiated brooch may some day be made to tell an interesting story, as it is the earliest important type that was naturalised here, and went out of fashion before some of the others appeared in England. Specimens with the lozenge foot are rare, only three having been found in Kent, where the blunt-footed form is fairly common.¹ Discoveries in other counties are very exceptional, and isolated specimens only have been found in the counties of Essex, Suffolk, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Lincoln and Warwick, all but the last county being on or near the east coast and most accessible from the sea. Both forms are also found in northern France, but the centre of dispersion in the fifth century was evidently the middle Rhine, whither the type had been brought by the southern stream of influence up the Danube. Other traces of a connection with southern Germany may be noticed in Kent, and it is important to observe the almost complete absence of Scandinavian forms in the Jutish area.

The track of the "applied" brooch across Europe may be eventually determined, but at present very few specimens are known outside England, and it must suffice to name the counties concerned without attempting to decide the connection between this and the succeeding type. Kempston, Bedfordshire, is the chief locality, but the Gloucestershire specimen should be earlier, and discoveries range from Berkshire to Rutland by way of Northants, thus approximately coinciding with those of the solid saucer type, but much less numerous.

The "saucer" brooch, properly so called, is plentiful in the southern Midlands, and remarkably scarce outside that area, though specimens have been found in Surrey, and on or near the coast of Kent,² that suggest a tribal migration up the Thames. A diminutive variety, sometimes called the "button" brooch, is practically confined to Kent and the Isle of Wight, though specimens are known also from the counties of Wilts., Sussex and Bedford. It is possible that the larger specimens were derived from the smaller, but in that case the folk who wore them must have migrated during the process, for

¹ *Vict. Co. Hist. Kent*, i, 380.

² Faversham, Horton Kirby and possibly Dover.

the saucer-brooch area is distinct. Its area includes all the counties in or bordering on the upper Thames valley, as well as those of Warwick and Worcester, Cambridge and Northants, while a few specimens have also been found in Sussex, and one (in a large cemetery) at Sleaford in Lincolnshire. Apart from this last exception, it seems clear that Dunsmore Heath (near Rugby) and Rutland form the northern limit of this type, and its entire absence from East Anglia and early Mercia strengthens the conviction that it was characteristic of the West Saxons who were dominant in the area indicated during the early part of the sixth century. It is remarkably scarce in Hants, which is generally considered to have been their headquarters and centre of dispersion. A large and coarse variety provided with a central stud is found in the counties of Cambridge, Warwick and Northants, and one has even been found in Leicestershire.

The distribution of the Kentish jewelled brooches fully justifies their name, but if regard be had to the extent¹ and prestige of the Kentish kingdom in the latter part of the sixth century, it will not be surprising to find Kentish work in other parts of south-eastern England. A keystone brooch has been found at Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire, and two more recently at Ipswich; other Kentish types have been discovered in the county, and jewellery of the same character in Norfolk. It is quite possible that certain gold brooches found in Derbyshire were also from Kentish workshops, and there can be little doubt as to the origin of two fine brooches from Abingdon, Berkshire. The jewelled brooches of Kent are the masterpieces of Anglo-Saxon craftsmanship, and afford ample proof of a high state of art in an area noted since the days of Caesar for its superior culture.

¹ Bede says that Ethelbert had extended his dominions as far as the Humber (*Eccles. Hist.*, i, 25).





ACHIEVEMENT OF SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

From Treswell's *Book of Surveys*, 1580.



HOLDENBY, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE; ITS MANORS, CHURCH AND HOUSE.¹

By ALBERT HARTSHORNE, F.S.A.

Holdenby is, on many accounts, one of the most interesting places in Northamptonshire. It has a long and well-ascertained manorial history: the church, not large, has much dignity, and presents a striking appearance, even in a county singularly favoured architecturally. The account of Holdenby has fallen, naturally, into the scheme of two very considerable county histories of the old stately type such as used to be looked upon, and must, indeed, still be justly regarded as the foundation stones of every great English library.

Concerning Bridges's *History of Northamptonshire* it may be conveniently stated now that its author was a Northamptonshire man, born at Barton Seagrave in 1666. He became a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn, and Solicitor to the Customs in 1695, holding other lucrative offices. Towards the latter end of his life, namely, in 1719, he began to form his collections and, had he been spared to enable him to complete his labours, it is believed that his *History* would have rivalled Dugdale's *Warwickshire*. He died in 1724, having made his first personal survey of every parish in the county, intending to repeat it on a future occasion. His collections came into the hands of his brother, who took steps to have the copious material arranged into a regular and connected history by placing the manuscript in the hands of one Gibbons, a bookseller, who employed Dr. Jebb to carry out the work in numbers. Gibbon's bankruptcy occurred after the first part was issued, and it was not until towards the end of the century that a committee of gentlemen of the county discharged Dr. Jebb's claims, obtained the manuscript, and commissioned the Rev. Peter Whalley, with others, to prepare them for continuation of publication. The work

¹ Read at the meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute, March 4th, 1908

was not very well done, and though the History did not appear until 1791, sixty-seven years after Bridges's death, such simple matters, for instance, as the continuation of names of lords of manors, and lists of incumbents, were not even attempted. The last incumbent entered as of Holdenby was Daniel Amiand, who was presented to the living in 1691 and died in 1730. Of this rector we shall hear more later on.

Baker's *History* is in every respect superior to that of Bridges, and its story is still more inauspicious, and indeed, calamitous. He issued his proposals for a new county history in 1815, and it must be admitted that, for the time, his manorial and pedigree work are excellent. Those were early days in which to expect correct antiquarian and architectural knowledge, and on both these lines Baker's descriptions leave much to be desired. His History comprises only the southern part of the county. One would, indeed, be inclined to think that a great county history is rather beyond the powers of a single individual, so many and so high are the necessary qualifications, did not such stately folios as those of Ormerod and of Nichols give us pause. In the present case, loss of subscribers, loss of fortune and discouragement, worse than death, caused George Baker to abandon his project in 1841; and he witnessed with a heavy heart the dispersal of his collections.

MANORIAL HISTORY.

Taking now the manorial history of Holdenby, as set forth by the two authorities, it should be observed that Siward held "Aldenesbi" in the time of the Confessor; at the Great Survey it was held by Ralph, under the Earl of Moreton—the Moreton fee. In the *Hydarium* of Henry II., there were certified to be three hides in Holdenby of the fee of the Earl of Leicester. On the subsequent division of that earldom, the paramountship of this estate passed in portions to the honours of Winchester and Leicester, under each of which were held two manors.

I. Of the honour of Winchester. 1. The Arden or Holdenby manor.—In 18 Henry III. (1233-4), a fine

was levied between Eustachia de Pinkeney and Henry de Pinkeney, of the service of one knight's fee and a half in Haudenby, and Sprocton, claimed by Margaret, Countess of Winchester; and in 54 Henry III. (1269), Peter de Holdenby held half a fee in Holdenby of her and her son Thomas. She had married Thomas de Arden, and it is stated that "when this manor occurs in the inquisitions of their descendants, it is to be understood as expressive only of the intermediate seignory which they retained between the Holdenbys, the mesue lords and the chief lords, or representatives of the honour of Winchester.

The family which bore the local surname was seated here as early as in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and continued in the direct male line until the beginning of the sixteenth century. In 1511, Joyce, widow of John, son of William Holdenby and Margaret Jakes, died seized of the manor of Holdenby and other lands. Elizabeth Holdenby, sister of William, was therefore found to be the next heir, Robert, only child of John and Joyce, and the last of the ancient race, having died without issue in his father's lifetime.

Elizabeth Holdenby married firstly Henry Hatton, third son of Peter Hatton of Quisty Birches, of the ancient Cheshire family, and had issue John Hatton of Holdenby, who married Jane Westby from Kent. Their eldest son, William Hatton of Holdenby, married Alice Saunders and died in 1546, leaving issue, 1, Francis, died under age in 1546; 2, Christopher; 3, Dorothy, who married John Newport of Honingham, co. Warwick, and was dead in 1591.

Of the honour of Winchester. 2. The Nevill manor.—In 13 John (1211) Philip de Haudenby and Julian his wife, who held certain lands here which, after her death, should descend as his inheritance to Robert Trian, her nephew, were summoned for endeavouring to defraud the said Robert by the adoption of a child, and passing it as their son and heir. Philip and Julian were accordingly adjudged to forfeit the fee, and seizin thereof was given to Robert Trian. In 38 Henry III. (1253) Ralph de la Hay, who married Eustachia, sister and heir of Robert Trian, died seized of Brampton and Holdenby

manors. From him they descended to the Nevills. By inquisition taken on the death of Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, in 54 Henry III. (1269), Philip Nevill and Sibil de Holdenby were certified to hold one knight's fee in Holdenby, and in 9 Edward II. (1315-6) Philip's younger grandson, William, was lord of Holdenby and Whilton. From this time the connection of the Nevill family with Holdenby appears to have come to an end, and their estates here cannot now be identified.

II. Of the honour of Leicester. 1. The Covele manor. In 25 Henry III. (1240-1) Philip de Covele is returned to hold one fee in Haudenby and Ravensthorpe, of the fees of Simon de Montfort. Of Philip's four daughters, Joan and Isabel died without issue. Margery married secondly William de Holdenby, and had a son and a nephew of the same name; the latter married Alice, daughter of Sir John Verdon. The fourth daughter married Roger de Broke. Complicated legal proceedings arose among the numerous descendants of the daughters of Philip de Covele concerning the manors and appurtenances in Holdenby and the adjacent parish of Ravensthorpe up to the middle of the fourteenth century.

Of the honour of Leicester, barony of Keynes. 2. The Welles manor. In the Testa de Nevill, c. 19 Henry III. (1234-5) Hugh de Vallibus held the fourth part of a fee in Holdenby, of the fees of Ralph de Keynes then in wardship of Simon de Montfort. In 24 Edward I. (1295-6) Peter de Welles held four virgates of land in Holdenby of the heir of Robert de Keynes, who held them of the Earl of Leicester. He died in 1307, aged 80, an unusually long life for that period. No further trace of the Welles family occurs until 3 Henry VII. (1488), when, by a rental of the feudatory tenants of the manor of Dodford, it appears that Peter de Welles held in Holdenby the third part of a knight's fee which John Wells, John Holdenby, and others lately held.

All the four manors of Holdenby are thus, and so far accounted for by the old county historians, and the association with them of the locally-named family in some measure shown. All four merged in the Hatton estate, but at what precise times has not been ascertained.

The slight consideration of the manors has naturally



SUIT OF ARMOUR OF SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON IN HIS MAJESTY'S COLLECTION
AT WINDSOR.



SUIT OF ARMOUR OF SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON IN HIS MAJESTY'S COLLECTION
AT WINDSOR.

brought about references to the ancient possessors and resident lords of Holdenby. It appears that a family bearing the local surname was seated here from the beginning of the thirteenth century, continuing in the direct line for three hundred years. And we have seen that early in the sixteenth century Henry Hatton married Elizabeth, heiress and last of the ancient family of Holdenby.

Due south-west of the church and hard by upon a plateau, of which the low earthen ramparts are still plainly to be seen, stood the old mansion house of the Holdens. Here, in 1540, was born the great grandson of Elizabeth Holdenby, Christopher Hatton, a personage too well-known in history to necessitate in this place a lengthened biographical notice. It will suffice to say only a few words; his works at Holdenby will be dealt with later. He certainly owed much to his handsome person and carriage, and found, as did others, great favour in the eyes of his susceptible monarch. He became one of her gentlemen pensioners, and an order was given to the Master of the Armoury for a complete suit of armour to be made for him¹ (Plates I and II). He rose rapidly, and if his personal advantages stood him in good stead, it was allowed at the time that his sudden promotion to the Lord Chancellorship, without probation in subordinate office, did not find him lacking either in acuteness of perception or in the rectitude of his judgments. He had, in fact, been a student of the Inner Temple. His place, it was said, as keeper of the Great Seal, "was above his law, but not above his parts, which were very pregnant and comprehensive."² Honours and dignities, royal and academic, came thick upon him. He showed himself bountiful in alms, and a great upholder of learning. He bought Kirby Hall in Northamptonshire in 1575, then newly erected after the designs of John Thorpe, from the heirs of Sir Humphrey Stafford,

¹ This suit is now in the Royal Collection at Windsor. It is from the anvils of Jacob Topf, a German who worked in England. It is here illustrated from photographs kindly lent by Mr. Guy Laking, M.V.O.

² But this does not seem to have been the common opinion. Ben Jonson

makes one of the characters in the masque performed at Althorp, in 1603 before Anne of Denmark, say :

"I do not deny where Graces meet
In a man that quality
Is a graceful property
But when dancing is his best,
Beshrew me I suspect the rest."

and built the great house of Holdenby, and formed the artificial gardens, during the next decade. Here he lived in the usual style of costly hospitality of the period ; the main object of such great palaces, which then arose, being the reception and entertainment of Queen Elizabeth and her court.

The four mediaeval manors of Holdenby were exchanged with the queen by Sir Christopher Hatton, April 19th, 1568, under the general description of "Holdenby," for the site of the abbey and demesne lands of Sulby in the same county. On January 10th, 1570, the queen re-conveyed to him the manor of Holdenby in fee. His end, said to have been accelerated by the pitiless conduct of the queen, came in 1591, at the age of fifty-one. Sir Christopher Hatton died unmarried, having settled his estates by deed on his nephew Sir William Newport, obliging him to take the name of Hatton, with remainder to his godson and heir male Sir Christopher Hatton of Long Stanton, Cambridgeshire. This Sir Christopher's descendant, Anne, only daughter of Christopher, Viscount Hatton, married (as his second wife) in 1685, Daniel Finch, seventh Earl of Winchilsea, and second Earl of Nottingham.

Sir William (Newport) Hatton died in 1596, when his Benefield and Newport estates descended to his two daughters and co-heirs ; Holdenby, Kirby, and the other Hatton estates passing, by virtue of the Lord Chancellor's remainder, to Sir Christopher Hatton, of Kirby.

In 1607, Sir Christopher Hatton, by the power of an act of parliament, conveyed "the greate mansion-house of Holdenby," the manor, etc.; to the King, with remainder to Charles, Duke of York, in tail male, etc. The King covenanted to pay for the mansion and other buildings, and the timber ; to ensure to Sir Christopher Hatton and his heirs, certain manorial rights, to the yearly value of £1,652 13s. 11d., and to grant the custody of the great mansion house of Holdenby, and the edifice called the Dairy House, as a lodging for her during her life, to Lady Elizabeth (Newport) Hatton, daughter of Thomas, first Earl of Exeter, and then the second wife of Lord Chief Justice Sir Edward Coke. Perhaps the strained relations between Sir Edward and his wife made it desirable that

she should have a refuge elsewhere than at Tittleshall where the recollections of her predecessor, the gentle and beloved Bridget Paston were not likely to have been forgotten.¹

By the succession to the throne of the Duke of York in 1625, Holdenby passed to him under the entail. Proceeding from the fateful raising of the royal standard at Nottingham, some of the results of the great national drama will only be lightly touched upon in their places, as far as Holdenby is concerned. It need only be added here that, after the Restoration, these Crown lands came into the hands of James, Duke of York, who sold them to Louis Duras, created Baron Duras of Holdenby, in 1672. He married Mary, daughter and co-heir of George Earl of Feversham, to which peerage he was in remainder, and succeeded in 1677. Dying without issue in 1709 his titles became extinct.

From the representatives of the Earl of Feversham, Holdenby was bought by the illustrious John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough. By a special act of parliament all his honours were entailed on his eldest daughter and her heir male with remainder in like manner to his other daughters. The duke made a corresponding disposition of his estates, so that, on the death in 1733, of the eldest daughter, wife of Francis, Earl of Godolphin, without such issue male, Charles Spencer, fifth Earl of Sunderland, by virtue of the parliamentary settlement became second Duke of Marlborough, and owner of Holdenby. His son George, third duke, sold the manor and lordship in 1802 to the trustees of Henry Welbore Agar Ellis, second Viscount Clifden in the peerage of Ireland, whose great grand-daughter, the present possessor, married Luke, third Lord Annaly, has issue, and lives at Holdenby House.

THE CHURCH.

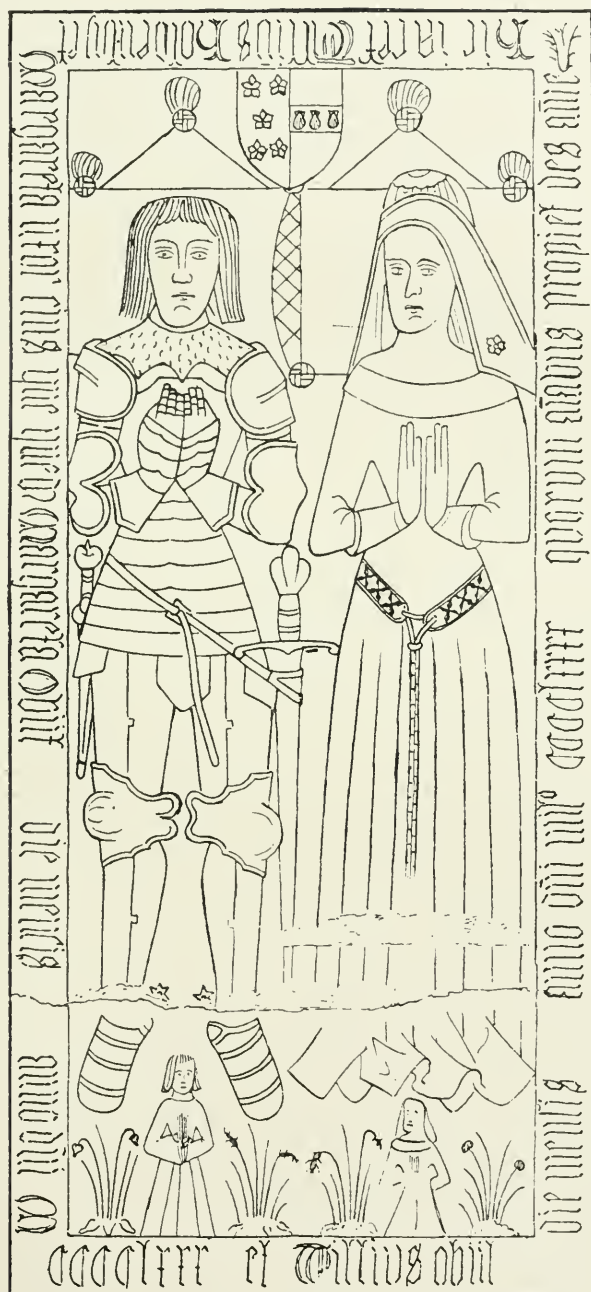
We pass now to Holdenby church. It will have been anticipated that with so long a succession of lords of manors, some of them resident, many monumental

¹ There is a beautiful full-length portrait of Dame Bridget, by Janssen, at

Holkham, illustrated in Mrs. A. M. W. Stirling's *Coke of Norfolk*, i, 10 (1907).

memorials would have survived. And such is indeed happily the case, though we have record and fragmentary evidence of other memorials which have perished. Apart from the information set forth in the two printed county histories, we have, preserved in the Bodleian, the *Church Notes* made by Belcher, who died in 1609, and thirty-nine folio volumes of Bridges's collections, on which his history is founded. On examining Belcher's notes of the memorials proper which he noticed, only two inscriptions, namely those to Alice Saunders, wife of William Hatton, and to Dorothy, daughter of Laurence Saunders, now remain. He also gives the trickings of the seven coats on the font ; the impaled coat on the memorial of William Hatton and Alice Saunders, parents of Sir Christopher ; and those on the two banners over the tomb of the first wife of Sir William (Newport) Hatton, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Francis Gawdy, Chief Justice of the King's Bench. These ensigns show Hatton of twelve quarters impaling Vert a tortoise Arg. Gawdy ; and Gawdy impaling Gu. three conies Arg. Coningsby the bearings of Elizabeth's father and mother. Belcher further gives the impaled arms of William Holdenby and Margaret Jakes, which as he notes, appear "on William Holdenby's Mon'" (Plate III). Also a shield showing twelve roundels, a canton Erm. ; two others without the canton and an atchievement showing Hatton differenced by a crescent, quartering Holdenby, Carville, and Washingley, and impaling . . . ? a Saltire Or, four annulets Arg. In addition Belcher shows a quarterly coat, namely 1 and 4 Hatton ; 2 and 3 Hallom, and Az. a mullet Sa. quarterly. The whole of the above-mentioned heraldic records, excepting those of William and Margaret Holdenby have quite vanished, they are here illustrated (Plate IV).

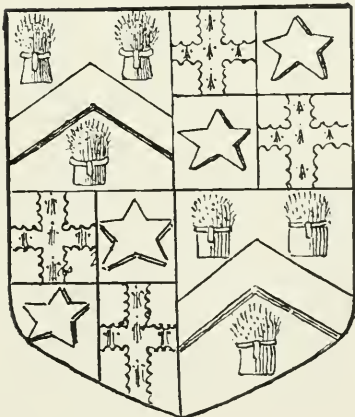
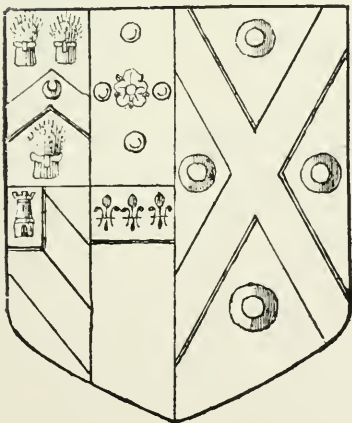
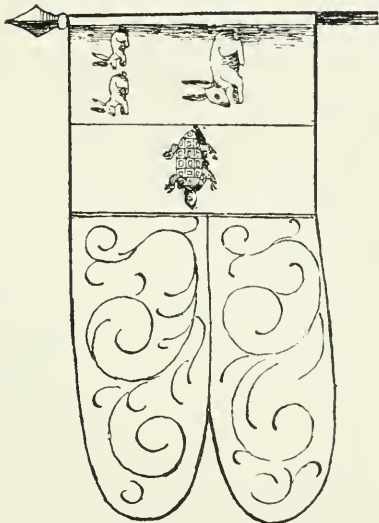
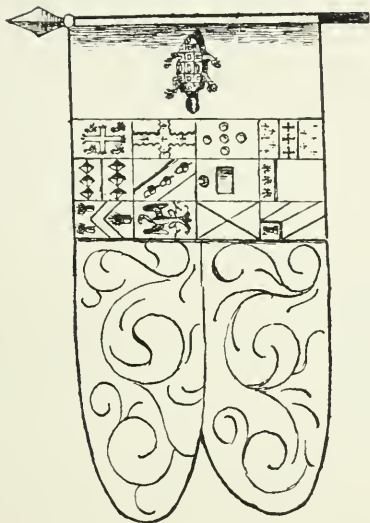
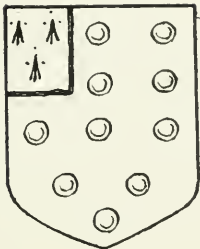
The church is of the usual Northamptonshire plan, comprising nave, aisles, chancel and western tower. Although the building cannot compete with any type in the long and matchless procession of churches along the valley of the Nene, it takes a good position among churches of like character in the southern part of the county. It has not, for instance, the known historical interest of the church in the adjoining parish of Harleston ; it cannot rival the Transitional work of



One ————— Foot *1863.*

INCISED SLAB OF WILLIAM AND MARGARET HOLDENBY.





ARMS FROM BELCHER'S MSS.



Spratton, nor can it present original late Perpendicular wood work, dating between 1445 and 1457, and noble Renaissance tombs, such as delight the eye in the neighbouring church of Brington. But the interior of Holdenby church has an impressive dignity which is uncommon, and striking in a building of its moderate size. And although the church suffered in 1867 from a "restoration" somewhat drastic, even that pitiless process, which included the senseless denudation of the ancient walls, could not destroy the innate merit of its proportions. The date of the nave with its well ordered arcades being about 1330-40, one is not surprised to find the evidences of small circular clerestory windows on the north side, just as they appear at Lichborough, and at Byfield, respectively ten and fifteen miles off. The north aisle, into which steps descend from the churchyard, is unusually narrow. It appears to have been rebuilt after the middle of the fifteenth century, and raised, when the use of the clerestory lights was abrogated. The south aisle, unusually wide and co-eval with the nave, has had its windows filled with new tracery, to which, perhaps, no exception can be taken. In the south wall of the south aisle is a low arched recess, which contained in Bridges's time "the wooden statue of a man in a buttoned gown, with an iron sword and head-piece laid by him." This was evidently a monument of the early part of the reign of Edward III., and probably represented Robert Holdenby who married Joan, daughter of Richard Zouche, and may be taken to have been the builder of the greater part of the church. According to local tradition, the effigy, sword, and head-piece were taken away many years ago by a gentleman of the neighbourhood, who came in his carriage for the purpose. In the same aisle is a monumental slab sculptured with a floriated cross, and narrowing to the foot. This is of the latter end of the thirteenth century and is the earliest memorial in the church. In the same aisle is the old altar slab, of dark marble. It is marked with the five crosses and has been utilised for the inscription, and four shields of Elizabeth Hatton, heiress of the Holdenbys. Also, the incised slab of William and Margaret Holdenby, one of the four examples in the county. A new porch

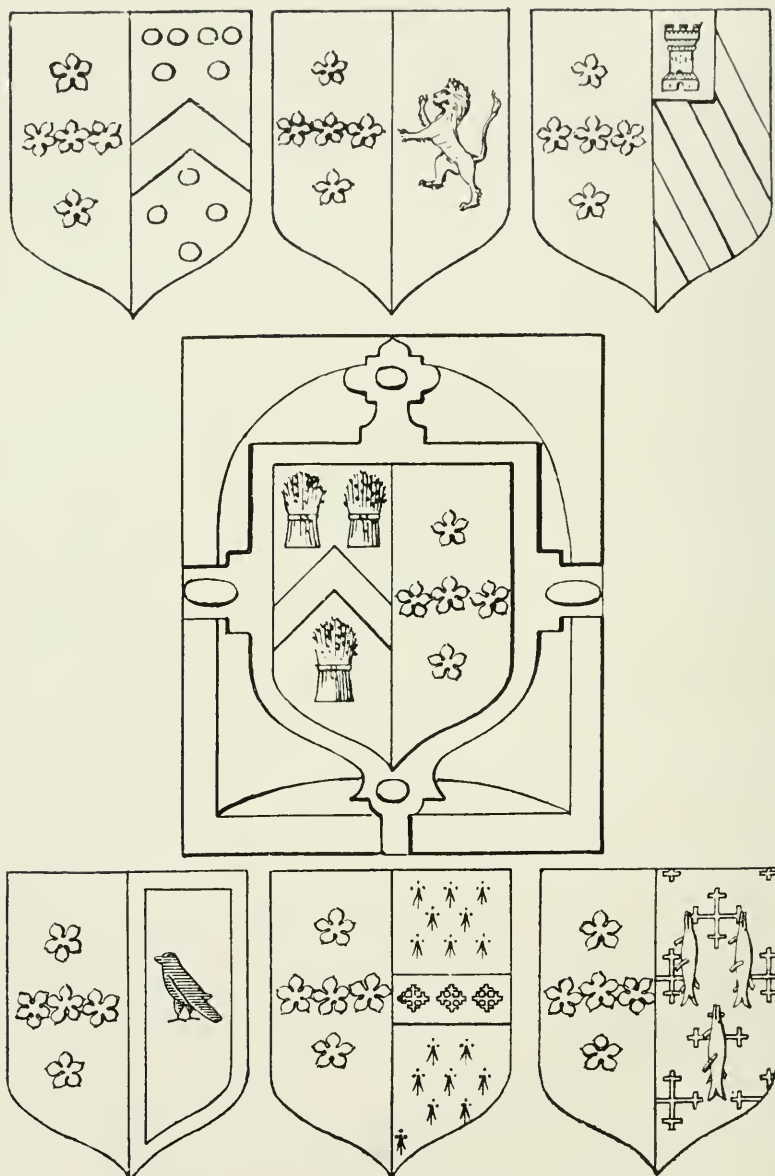
has been set up on the lines of the old one, which was existing in Bridges's time. Access to the church was formerly gained through a south door of Renaissance design, probably brought from the House, as it was in Ketton stone ; this was "restored" away. The tower, perhaps contemporary with the nave in its lower portion, has its upper or belfry stage of about a century later embattled, and of something the same general character as that of the adjoining parish of Ravensthorpe. The chancel, designed by Sir Henry Dryden on that of Moreton Pinkeney, was built in 1845 from his own working drawings, at the cost of the Rev. John Lloyd Crawley.

This gentleman, who was also rector of Heyford, seven miles off, where he lived, became rector in 1809 ; there was no rectory or glebe at Holdenby. He instituted a suit in Chancery by which he recovered the great and small tithes of the whole parish, raising the value of the living from £80 to nearly £700 a year. In consequence of the peculiar feeling thus engendered in the place, none of the farmers would take in his horse on Sunday. Mr. Crawley was therefore constrained to set up a stable in the churchyard, his only freehold. This was taken down by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, under a faculty, in 1857, and the materials used in outbuildings to the new rectory which he had built in 1854. In further consequence of the ill feeling against Mr. Crawley, he had to receive some of his tithe in kind, and at one time the wool was stored in the old chancel.

With regard to the furniture of the church, there are in the chancel a series of eight stalls of excellent design, four on either side, with the usual misericord seats. Bridges speaks of six on each side. These have been thought to appertain to a chantry founded by Robert Holdenby in his mansion house in 1391. But they have an older appearance. They were rearranged in the present number of seats, with new frontlets in 1845. Some portions which could not be made use of were sheltered at Canons Ashby until 1899, when they were given by Miss Dryden to the Northampton Museum.

By the "restoration" of 1867 the ancient octagonal font, standing against the western face of the western-





ARMS ON THE FONT AT HOLDENBY, DESTROYED IN 1867.

most pier of the south arcade, was most wickedly destroyed. In this font, no doubt, Sir Christopher Hatton had been christened. It was painted with seven armorial bearings, within Renaissance frames, showing the marriages of the six predecessors of Elizabeth Holdenby, namely, Robert Holdenby and Joan Zouche; William Holdenby and Alice Verdon; Robert Holdenby and Maud de la Carville; John Holdenby and Margaret Raven; John Holdenby and Joan Mortimer and William Holdenby and Alice Lucy—and her own alliance with Henry Hatton. In its place was introduced a panelled and cusped stone font of no historical interest whatever. This heraldry was recorded by Belcher before 1609, and was drawn to scale by the writer in 1863. The coats are here illustrated (Plate V).

Dividing the chancel from the nave is an oak screen of Renaissance design and date. In 1691 Daniel Amiand was instituted as rector. He died in 1730. Bridges, who began his survey of the county in 1719, records, as the manorial history shows, that when he visited Holdenby it belonged to the Duke of Marlborough, and that the church was “divided from the chancel by a carved screen of very good workmanship.” The first duke died in 1722. The second duke who possessed the place, did not succeed his aunt until 1733. Baker, whose information is doubtless obtained from Bridges’s collections, adds that the screen was “the gift of Mr. Amiand.” it must, therefore, have been set up between the date of Mr. Amiand’s institution in 1691, and the death of the first Duke of Marlborough in 1722.

The experience of having measured and planned on the spot the exterior elevations of Kirby Hall, more than thirty years ago, gives one some information concerning the rapidity of the progress of decay in a dismantled, abandoned, or “slighted” building. Walls become disheartened and soon lose cohesion, tall chimneys and gables deprived of the protection of the roofs tremble in the wind, ceilings plunge into the abyss, and ivy seizes the fabric in a deadly grasp. We shall see presently under what circumstances Holdenby House was sacrificed as a whole: for the moment we are concerned only with one of its parts, namely, the screen at the

upper or dais end of the great hall, dividing the way to the "stately ascent" to the great chamber from the chapel. In the plan of Holdenby House by its architect, John Thorpe, happily preserved in the well-known collection in the Soane Museum,¹ Fig. 1, we have minutely set down the very screen, just as it still appears in the church,

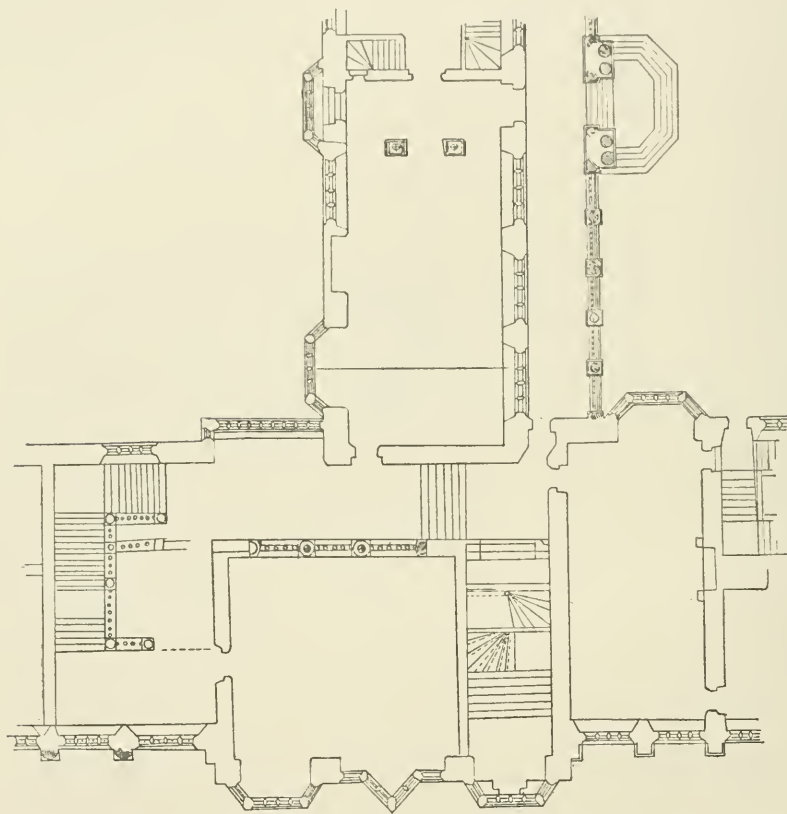
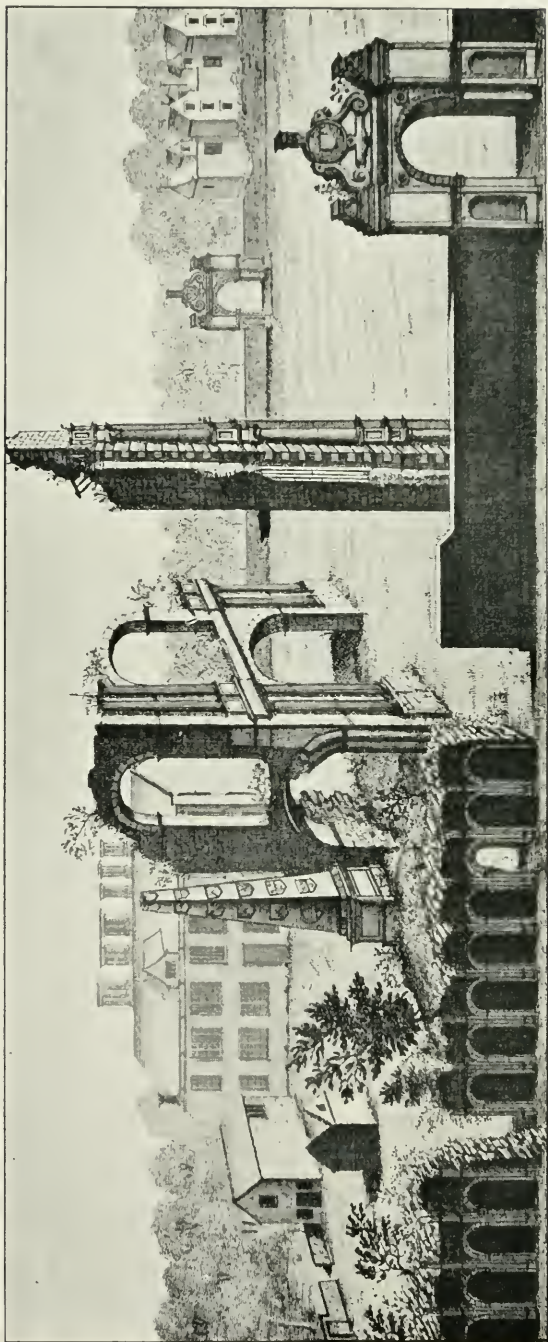


FIG. 1.—PART OF JOHN THORPE'S ORIGINAL PLAN OF HOLDENBY HOUSE.

with its four main columns, its narrower central portion and its subsidiary shafts and half shafts, the only difference being that the narrower central portion now offers a clear gangway, as it evidently did in the House. On the beam of the screen stand the oak figures, 2 feet $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches

¹ A tracing of the original plan was exhibited to the meeting by Mr. J. A. Gotch.





ENGRAVING BY S. AND N. BUCK IN 1729 OF THE RUINS OF HOLDENBY HOUSE.

high, of two Roman soldiers, bearing shields charged with the head of Medusa. One of the figures is here illustrated, Fig. 2. In 1709 Stukely made a sketch of the ruins of Holdenby House, Fig. 3, in which appears the upper part of one of the two pyramids marked on Thorpe's plan at the lower end of the great hall, and a portion of another. In execution, as is recorded by Norden, there were three such pyramids. This sketch shows rudely much confusion and ruin. Nearly half a century before, Evelyn in his *Diary* states that the House, seen from Althorp, "showed like a Roman ruin, a stately, solemn, and pleasing view." In Grose's *Antiquities* there is an engraving dated 1787, showing the southern archway with the wall forming the base court, and the remaining portion of the house in the distance.

The rapid decay of a forsaken house has been alluded to. The disintegration and swift dissolution of one deliberately thrown down, and its materials sold was much quicker. Mr. Justinian Isham of Lamport, six miles off, who succeeded as fifth Baronet in 1730, visited Holdenby on September 2nd, 1717. He records in his *Journal* that "the remains show its former magnificence." "Near a hog-stye are two pyramidal pillars on which are several coats of arms," etc. "In the church an ancient font with the arms of Holdenby impaling others," etc. In 1729 S. and N. Buck made their drawing and engraving of Holdenby House, which is here reproduced (Plate VI). This exhibits the artist's usual inaccuracies of perspective. No woodwork then, of course, remained. One of the pyramids is shown, but in nothing like its right place on the plan.



FIG. 2.—FIGURE OF ROMAN SOLDIER ON SCREEN.

It may be gathered that the screen must have been transmitted from the house to the church very shortly after the appointment of Mr. Amiand to the living. It was clearly not an object for which there would have been any competition, or any continued domestic use found, considering the utilitarian purposes to which the House was condemned after the Civil Wars. And it so happened that the screen in its integrity almost fitted the chancel arch. But it was necessary to cut away



FIG. 3.—STUKELEY'S SKETCH OF THE RUINS OF HOLDENBY IN 1703.

some of its cornice and to hack away almost half of the northernmost column ; some of the hood moulding of the respond of the nave arcade on the north side being chopped off, with the reckless disregard for Gothic antiquity which characterised that dark age. The lower members of the outer ring of the chancel arch on the south side were also removed. The screen is here shown as it appeared up to 1867 (Plate VII, 1). There was another purpose in view. The opportunity was taken to scoop out



1. SCREEN, NOW IN HOLDENBY CHURCH.



2. HOLDENBY ARCHES.



the chancel wall, facing the nave, on the south side, for the purpose of fitting in a pulpit and its attributes in the way that was deemed seemly at the time. This arrangement, which was of a common character, was subsequently modified, the pulpit lowered and brought forward and a pew formed later in the corner. In 1863 the pulpit, the reading desk, and clerk's seat were abolished, and a new oak pulpit and reading desk given by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne.

It is remembered that the circular-headed opening in the screen formerly contained the Royal Arms, painted on canvas. As to its subsequent fate, when the church was "restored," the upper portion of the screen was most foolishly and aimlessly taken down, and placed on the floor at the east end of the south aisle, where it remains, a great eyesore, and serving no purpose whatever. At the same time the arched opening was fashioned into an entrance to the tower, formed into a vestry. Both these portions should of course be returned at once to their original places, and the screen restored in the best sense to its pristine state, inasmuch as its origin and history is thus established with absolute certainty. In 1863 the present writer made a large scale drawing of it.¹ It is not an ecclesiastical post-Reformation screen made for the place. Even in Elizabethan days prominent figures of pagan soldiers would hardly have been accepted as fitting attributes for a chancel screen, whatever latitude may have been allowed in domestic fittings. Nor is it a post-Restoration work, such as the screen at Monnington in Herefordshire, and it illustrates no transient ecclesiological fervour of Georgian times. It is merely an item rescued by the good impulses of the rector, on account of its associations; a remnant of history to be accepted with its "classic" incongruities, "a brand snatched from the burning," and thus becomes more historic than ever. Moreover, the Holdenby screen is a highly interesting example of the acceptance of a chancel screen, separating the clergy from the laity, at so dismal an ecclesiastical time as the early years of the eighteenth century, and, as such, has far more value than any suppositious Elizabethan church origin.

¹ This was exhibited to the meeting by Mr. J. A. Gotch.

Further, the true facts regarding the Holdenby screen are of common knowledge, having been pointed out both in print and in manuscript over and over again.

These things being so, it is somewhat startling to find the following statement, in a book entitled *English Church Furniture*, which made its appearance last year. "Holdenby church contains a chancel screen of great interest and fine classical design. It dates from about 1580, when the first great Renaissance architect, John Thorpe, was building the magnificent pile of Holdenby House. A fanciful notion has obtained some currency that this screen was not designed for the church, but was moved here when so much of the great house was pulled down in the seventeenth century. The plans, however, of the house are extant, and there was no such screen, or any space for it, in any part of the building. The late Mr. Micklethwaite, who paid two special visits to inspect the screen, was able to point out several features that established its construction for a church and not for any house-chapel" (page 128).

In the same volume it is stated at page 285, perhaps correctly, that several pews of Elizabethan date have been cleared away by restorers, "notably a fine pew of classical design, coeval with the screen, c. 1585, at Holdenby church." This pew, which the compilers of the book can never have seen, but which the present writer had sketched, and knew well, having sat in it scores of times, consisted of a few well moulded panels of different sizes, irregularly made up with an oak and deal framework, and capped by a balustrading formed of small shafts similar to those in the screen, sawn in two half-way up the fluting and set upon clumsy square blocks. The whole was surmounted by a ricketty made up cornice. This was simply a pew formed from portions of woodwork from the House, for the use of the tenant occupying the remaining part of it. It did not even offer an example of one of those offensive and arrogant prerogatives, a "Faculty Pew," now happily never granted, and was undoubtedly roughly put together at the same time that the screen was introduced, being then tinted to match it. It was removed in 1867, and some of the panel work remains in the belfry of the tower. In the

march of history this vanished object has dilated into "a remarkable Elizabethan pew"; and it has now so far advanced in dignity as to be even spoken of by persons of lively imagination as "The Royal Pew!" The venerable Dr. Routh of Magdalen laid great stress upon the importance of verifying references; of still higher consequence would seem to be the just estimation and recording of facts. It is hardly necessary to point out the extreme inconvenience of misstatements in a book deliberately compiled, and purporting to be authoritative—one of *The Antiquary's Books*. Such romances cannot be recalled, and are continuously rising up against the investigators of truth.

On the walls of the church are six painted tablets of texts in black letter, measuring 9 feet 6 inches by 5 feet, and 8 feet by 6 feet, taken from the "Bishop's Bible" of 1568, within elaborate Renaissance borders. These were recovered from beneath several coats of whitewash in 1862 and repainted by the present writer. At the same time Mrs. Hartshorne, the rector's wife, painted the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Commandments, in oil colour on zinc, copying the original borders. The nine tablets form an uncommon display, and help to cover the rude nakedness of the pointed rubble walls which the "restoration" of 1868 effected. The earliest Registers are dated in 1754.



THE HOUSE.

To turn now to Holdenby House. We have seen in the manorial history something of its origin and descent. It would not be within the compass of a limited essay to do more than speak generally of this great building which so soon passed away. In various sources, public and otherwise, a great amount of historical information has accumulated concerning Holdenby House, chiefly on account of its having been for half a century in royal hands, often visited by James I. and his Queen, by Charles I. and Henrietta Maria, and used for a time as the prison house of Charles I. This material, in the shape of surveys, remembrances, warrants, journals of

parliament, inventories, and the like, has been well dealt with at some length by Baker, and in a different and more interesting manner by the authoress of *Memorials of Holdenby*, who has included reprints of Civil War tracts relating to the place; extracts from the Calendars of State Papers, and the king's "Penitential Meditations and Vows in his Solitude at Holmbey," taken from the *Eikon Basilike*,¹ the volume which made its appearance a few hours too late to save him, as many thought it might have done.

More strictly germane to the present purpose are the documents concerning the House in the time of Sir Christopher Hatton. The records first in question are the very interesting set of surveys, maps and descriptions of the estates of the Lord Chancellor, drawn up in 1580, in the possession of the Earl of Winchilsea: of these records Baker had no knowledge. The book of Surveys, etc., which contains later documents of the same character, is preceded by a drawing of Sir Christopher Hatton's arms (Frontispiece), a coat of fourteen quarters, as they appear, now much defaced, upon the arches at Holdenby (Plate VII, 2). Nos. 11, 12 and 14 are respectively the coats of the heiresses, Elizabeth, daughter of William Holdenby, and wife of Henry Hatton; Maud, daughter of William de la Carville, and wife of Robert Holdenby, and Joan, daughter of John Mortimer of Grendon, and wife of John Holdenby. These coats were brought into the Hatton achievement by Elizabeth Holdenby.

The map, or plan, Fig. 4, which appertains to the Survey of Holdenby, was allowed by Lord Winchilsea to be photographed for Mr. J. A. Gotch,² who has, in his usual felicitous manner, made use of it in his *Early Renaissance Architecture in England*, in showing the development of the house plan in Elizabethan times and particularly as regards the general and systematic scheme upon which such palaces were set out. A better example than Holdenby House there could not be. The technical name of such a scheme was "the lay-out," and here in the original plan we have the whole thing

¹ *Memorials of Holdenby*, by Emily Sophia Hartshorne, 1868, 8vo. (100 copies only).

² Mr. Gotch exhibited the photograph to the meeting.

before us, drawn by Ralph Treswell in 1584. We will now use Mr. Goteh's own words :

"The accompanying plan of the lay-out of Holdenby gives a good idea of the surroundings of the larger Elizabethan houses. The road between two villages ran along the north side of the park, A, and from this road branched another one which led up to the house. While it traversed the park it was allowed to wind according to the undulations

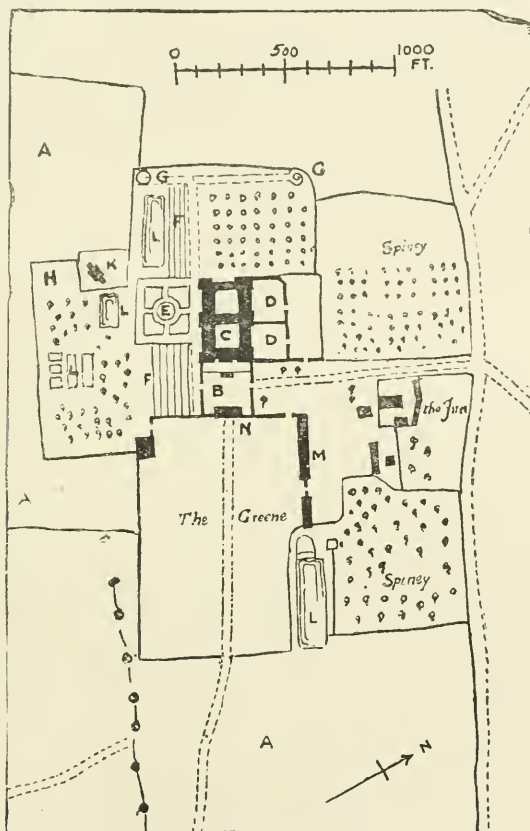


FIG. 4.—THE LAY OUT.

of the ground, but when it came to within a quarter of a mile of the lodge it was made perfectly straight, and so ran through the midst of 'the green'—'a large, long, straight, fair way,' as Lord Burghley called it. It led directly to the porter's lodge, N, which was a building separate from the house, and self-contained, and it passed the long range of stabling on the right, M. The porter's lodge opened into the first court, the 'base court,' B, as it was called, walled round, and entered on its two sides by large gateways.¹ At the further end of the

¹ Still existing and dated 1583.

base court stood the house, C, raised a few steps above the general level, where Lord Burghley 'found a great magnificence in the front or front pieces of the house, and so every part answerable to other, to allure liking.' The house was built round two great courts, the first 128 feet by 104 feet, comparable in point of size to those at Hampton Court, and a good deal more intricate in detail. To the north of the house itself were two walled gardens, of nearly an acre each, D, and beyond these were spinneys or small woods, and the little village with its inn. The ground on the south side of the house sloped pretty steeply away, and was laid out in a series of terraces, F. At the top of these, and flanking the whole length of the base court, the house, and the orchard beyond, ran a broad straight path. In the midst of the terraces a great platform, E, was run out at the level of this long path, containing a rosery laid out with paths in a simple geometrical pattern. At the foot of the terraces lay fishponds, L, amid orchard trees, and, in a small enclosure of its own, the church, K. Close to the church was the site of the old manor house, H, the home of Sir Christopher Hatton's fathers, which he found far too insignificant a dwelling for the Lord Chancellor."¹ G indicates the pleasant mounts.

From the testimony of Norden, Camden, Lord Burghley and other contemporaries of Sir Christopher Hatton, there can be no doubt that the house was accurately described as "a fair pattern of stately and magnificent building, making a fair glorious show. On a most craggie and unprofitable ground" terraces were thrown up, rock excavated, wide shining stews and tangs formed, and with much damming and blasting the palace presently arose, dominating the wide pleasant valley. Less irregular than Burghley, less extravagant in its Tedescan details than Wollaton, less rambling than Kirby, or Audley End, and less refined than Longleat, Holdenby surpassed them all in the beauty of its material, a fine oolite known as Ketton stone, in the dignity of its position, and the regularity of its "lay-out." It was certainly, as was said by Sir Thomas Heneage writing to Sir Christopher Hatton from Holdenby, July 5th, 1583, "the best house that hath been built in this age"; he added eight days later, "I will say, as I think, that, for a gentleman's dwelling of most honour and estimation, it is the best and most considerate built house that yet mine eyes have ever seen"; and, as Norden affirmed, "so beautiful that it may well delight a prince." The House was surrounded by a park of five hundred acres, stocked with red and fallow deer, and wild cattle; there

¹ *Early Renaissance Architecture in England*, 75.

was "a large warren of conyes" hard by, and "aboute the house greate store of hares," sounding rather detrimental to the flower gardens.

When Anne of Denmark came from Scotland, June 20th, 1603, she rested for the night at Holdenby, June 24th, and "took a Survey of the House," going on the next day to Sir Robert Spencer at Althorp, where a Masque by Ben Jonson was performed. In a speech by "Nobody," introducing a morris of Clowns, Sir Christopher Hatton, who had been dead for thirteen years, is thus referred to :

They come to see and to be seen,
And though they dance before the Queen,
There's none of these doth hope to come by
Wealth to build another Holmby ;
All these dancing days are done,
Men must now have more than one
Grace to build their fortunes on.

No one would have dared to say as much in the late queen's time !

James I. came to Holdenby in 1608, when Bishop Andrewes preached before him on August 5th, the anniversary of the Gowry Conspiracy, from the significant text 1 Sam. xxvi, 8, 9. He was here also two years later, with the queen, the bishop again preaching on the same happy deliverance, from the text 1 Chron. xvii, 22. The king stayed at Holdenby again in 1614, in 1616 and in 1618. In the prospect of the visit of 1608, and characteristic of the wants of the court at that time, great additions were made to the brewing vessels and utensils, so the spring beer would have been plentiful and in good order.

It may be recalled that in July, 1626, Charles I. expelled all his queen's French attendants, the "Monsers" as they were styled, to the number of four hundred, on account of their "unreverent" behaviour, and in spite of the anger and tears of the queen, then a petulant beauty of eighteen. This gives an idea of the vastness of royal establishments, and the capacity of the houses, and their dependencies, which could receive them. At the end of the year fresh arrangements were made. Henrietta Maria was allowed a bishop, ten priests and a confessor ; certain French personal attendants and serving

women, and "all the officers of the mouth and of the goblet are to be French." The concession was timely and kind. The king was passionately attached to his wife, and we know from his own words in the last and touching farewell with the innocent "sweet hart," the Princess Elizabeth, at Whitehall, that his thoughts "never strayed from her for a moment."

The queen was at Holdenby in 1627, no doubt attended by all her French retainers. The king was here in 1634, and in 1636, with the queen, who stayed on for some time. During these sojourns even the great capacity of the House must have been fully taxed, for royal state was kept up, as in the days of Elizabeth when, as we may gather from Paul Hentzner's *Itinerary*, it must have reached its climax. For instance, at Holdenby, the "'say" was given, and the cup served on the knee, and all the state ceremonies of ancient days observed. It is further gathered from letters written to Rome from Northampton, by two Italian priests, who had visited Henrietta Maria at Holdenby, towards the end of 1636, that she had in the House her own private chapel, of which the fittings and services caused much local comment. An interesting account is given of the pretty unconventional ways of the impulsive Catholic daughter of the illustrious Huguenot king, then in the heyday of her beauty and happiness at Holdenby, "Great Gloriana," the subject thirty-three years later of the impassioned Oration of Bossuet.

It was, therefore, to a well-known and favourite spot that the monarch was brought in 1647, arriving on February 15th, "in white weather." The omen was inauspicious. It will be remembered that exactly two years later "the White King" was borne obscurely to his grave at Windsor, devoid of the rites of the church to which he was so attached, under a black velvet pall that was blanched with snow.

The king, with the Parliamentary Commissioners, left Newcastle on the ominous date of January 30th, 1647, escorted by nine hundred horse and dragoons, who were subsequently quartered in the immediate neighbourhood. In a scarce tract, entitled "Gallant News for London from His Majesties Royal Court at Holmby," it is stated

that "There were great tryumph at Northampton upon Tuesday last, when the tydings were brought that his Majesty were neere Holmby, the Bells rang, and the greet Guns went of, insomuch, that a gallant echo made its appeal at Holmby, and the sound thereof did much rejoice his Majesties Heart." On the king's arrival at Holdenby we are further informed that "there was a gallant guard appointed for his Majesty to passe by, who entred in at the great Court Gate, being accompanied by the Commissioners¹ of both Kingdoms"; and that the king "entred the house in great tryumph, and in a most sumptuous maner."²

The preparations made by the commissioners for the reception of the king were of the fullest kind. All the officers of the Household were in their places, the gentlemen of the Chamber, the pages, the grooms, the ushers, the waiters, the officials of the kitchen, cellar, buttery, pantry, pastry, spicery, confectionery, napery, and other departments, and the array of household servants—but only one laundress—all were in their appointed order, and in the ample and beautiful house all were accommodated, as Sir Thomas Herbert says, "with all things needful."³ In addition, room was found for the commissioners, their chaplains, gentlemen, attendants, and others, and as the same author and eyewitness reports, "all within the King's House without straitning; and all the Tables were as well furnished as they used to be when his Majesty was in a peaceful and flourishing State."⁴

In this great establishment the king, when he dined and supped, "always said Grace himself, standing under the State." This appears to have been a movable canopy. And "every Sunday the King sequestred himself to his private Devotion."⁵ His own chaplains were denied him, and he stiffly refused to assent to Presbyterianism and conform to the new directory; to attend the services in

¹ They were Philip, Earl of Pembroke, Basil, Earl of Denbigh, and Edward, Lord Montagu, on the part of the Lords; and Sir John Coke, Sir John Holland, Sir Walter Earle, and Sir James Harrington, Baronets; John Crewe, Esq., and Major-General Browne, on the part of the Commons.

² *Gallant News, etc., Memorials of Holdenby, ut sup.*, pt. ii. p. xxxiiij.

³ *Memoirs of the Last Two Years of the Reign of King Charles I.*, 15. (Edit. 1813.)

⁴ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

the chapel, where the commissioners' chaplains officiated, or to permit them to say grace before him. And it is certain that the King would not have found the services in Holdenby church such as he could have approved of. He obtained no answer to his pathetic appeals to both Houses of Parliament for the presence of some of his chaplains whom he so "esteemed and revered," and the conscientious monarch thus bereft, in the hour of his need, of the consolation which for him meant so much, "sequestered himself to his private Devotion." Doubtless in some of those hours of "Solitudes and Sufferings" he pondered over the "Penitential Meditations and Vows at Holmbey,"¹ which find a place in the *Eikon Basilike*. It presents a sad and melancholy picture.

The assay of the viands, and the serving of the cup and of the covered dishes on the knee, was carried out with the ancient regal formality at Holdenby. But all the accustomed court state ceased when the king came to St. James's and his trial was determined on. The absence of these ceremonials were, as Herbert puts it, "an uncouth sight unto the King,"² who felt it deeply.

More particularly with regard to the king's manner of life, the same author tells us that he "would walk oft in the garden at Holmby with one or other of the Commissioners, and in regard there was no Bowling-Green then well kept at Holmby, the King would sometimes ride to Harrowden, a House of the Lord Vaux's about nine miles off, where there was a good Bowling-Green, with Gardens, Groves, and Walks that afforded much pleasure. And other whiles to Althorpe, a fair House about two or three miles from Holmby, belonging to the Lord Spencer, now Earl of Sunderland, where also there was a Green well kept."³

King Charles showed himself gracious and affable to the people in Northamptonshire, who flocked to him to be touched for the Evil.

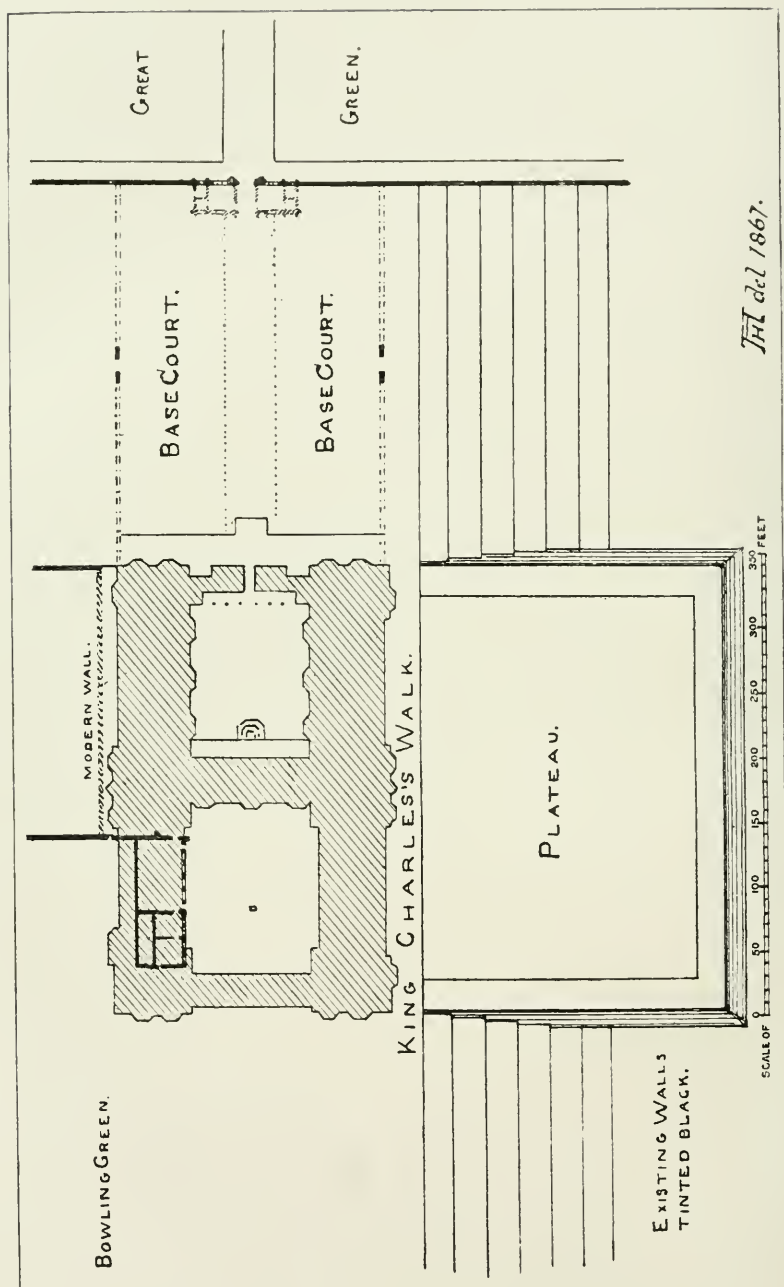
Herbert tells us further that "His Majesty, during his Stay at Holmby, such times as he did not ride abroad for Refreshment, would walk in the long Gravel-Walk in the Garden ; where the Earl of Pembroke was oftentimes

¹ Reprinted in *Memorials of Holdenby*, ut *sup.*, p. lxxiiij.

² Herbert, ut *sup.*, 157.

³ Herbert, ut *sup.*, 18.





HOLDENBY HOUSE. GENERAL PLAN.

with the King, and, not without some Difficulty, held pace with him, his Majesty being quick and lively in his Motion. And other times with others of the Commissioners, but most with Major-General Browne, with whom the King was pleased to discourse often. And whensoever the King thus recreated himself, he never had above one in Company, the rest keeping at a becoming Distance in some other part of the Privy-Garden."¹

The "Long" or "King's Walk" on which the troubled monarch paced rapidly backwards and forwards, crowns the succession of terraces. Nature, in her healing mood, has long since covered the gravel with the greensward. The straight platform, perhaps, after that at Windsor, the most historic walk in England, is three hundred and twenty yards long and eight yards wide. It has unfortunately been disregarded in modern days and broken into, where it crosses the *plateau*, in the laying out of the new gardens (Plate VIII).

The halting Lord Chamberlain was Philip, fourth Earl of Pembroke, one of the greatest noblemen of the kingdom, he who married that intrepid lady, Anne Clifford, whose name long sounded as a trumpet blast in wide districts of the north.²

Very little beyond what may be gathered from Thorpe's Plan can be determined with regard to the interior of the house. Norden only describes the Hall, in which he says: "There are raised three Peramides,³ very high, standing instead of a Shryne, the midst whereof ascendeth unto the Roofe of the Hawll, the other two equal with the syde Walls of the same Hawll; and on them are depainted the Armes of all the Gentlemen of the same Shire, and of all the Noblemen of this lande."⁴

Lord Burghley stayed one night at Holdenby on August 9th, 1579. Sir Christopher Hatton could not be there to receive him, because leave of absence was

¹ Herbert, *ut sup.*, 23.

² She was the only child of that striking character George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, Champion of Queen Elizabeth. See *Archaeological Journal*, vol. lvi, p. 187, Sept., 1899, paper on Samuel Daniel and Anne Clifford, by the writer.

³ Portions of these are preserved at Holdenby House.

⁴ *Speculi Britanniae Pars altera; or a Delineation of Northamptonshire*, by the Travayle of John Norden in the year MDCX, quoted in *Memorials of Holdenby*, *ut sup.*, p. xxxij.

not obtainable from his imperious mistress. The house, then hardly finished—"this goodly perfect, though not perfected, work," found great favour with the minister, who was particularly struck with the stately ascent "from the hall to the great chamber." This saloon must have been on the first floor, in the centre of the south front, immediately over the chapel, and forming part of the suite of state rooms known as the King's Lodgings, which continued westward along the façade. The Great Chamber appeared to Lord Burghley as so "answerable with largeness and lightness, that truly a Momus could find no fault." It was lighted by a triple window of remarkable character, running up through all the stories of the house, such a constructional effort as a modern architect would, perhaps, hardly be bold enough to project, even on paper, in these degenerate days! It must have been a magnificent room, and, apart from the consideration of the usual carved and moulded oak fittings, the flat or coved plaster ceilings rich with "knot" or strap work, and the "many costly and rare chimney pieces"¹ of this regal suite, one thinks naturally, in connection with some of the rooms, of walls hung with brocades "of silk and silver," like Imogen's chamber; of others covered with storied arras or tapestry from the looms of the Low Countries, and depicting now pagan mythology, now Biblical pieces; of embossed leather hangings from Cordova, brilliant with gold, silver, and colours. As to furniture, there must have been sideboards of degrees, after the mediaeval manner, displaying plenishings of plate, and "cupboards" of glasses *façon de Venise*, perhaps diamond-etched, after the king's own heart, by one of the beautiful and accomplished Dutch gentlewomen, Anna, Maria, or Gertrude Roemer Visscher. And, we may be sure, masterpieces of armour embossed and damascened by the Negrolis and Colmans. Imagination contemplates in the panelled royal rooms and closets at Holdenby "painted tables," "stained cloths," "large as ye life," or "done after ye quick," and many a "history piece" on the oak walls; inlaid Florentine cabinets; "purslane" from far Cathay; foot cloths from Persia, and ponderous native-made oak tables spread with

¹ Specialised in the Parliamentary Survey of 1650.

"Turkey work," such as Mytens and Van Somer loved to depict. Alongside of these refinements must have been chambers deeply panelled and inlaid with ebony, ivory, and walnut; canopied velvet and beplumed bedsteads; barbarous angular oak chairs covered with priceless damasks and fringed with silk or gold; comfortless joint stools, and hard oak benches. As to classic art in marble, we know from an inventory that the king had a number of busts at Holdenby, which were sold after his death.¹ The more valuable objects had evidently been seized before.

Of the probable use of the rooms on the eastern portion of the south front, we have no knowledge, save that behind them, as we gather from Thorpe's plan, ran the gallery of T shape, 140 feet long and 22 feet wide, with bay windows looking into the first court, and at its east end. It returned half-way down, of the same width, advancing to two great windows in the south front. This must also have been a noble apartment, and Herbert tells us that the king used to walk in it for exercise. The Queen's Lodgings were on the north side of the house.

Like the hall, and the great chamber, the gallery was a constant feature in the large Renaissance houses. It was the common room where the family could assemble, and the children played their games; and here stood chests and trunks, hence the name of the "trunk gallery"; it served the same uses as the mediaeval cloisters in monastic establishments. For the purpose of comparison: there is a splendid gallery, forty years later in date than Holdenby, at Aston Hall, 140 feet long and 18 feet wide, with a rich plaster ceiling and beautiful panelled walls; the gallery at Kirby is 150 feet long, and only 16 feet wide; and that at Haddon 110 feet long, and 17 feet wide, broken by three wide projecting bays.

Thus it was at least among sumptuous surroundings that the king in his lonely state, "every Sunday sequestered himself to his private Devotion, and all other days in the Week spent two or three hours in Reading, and

¹ An Inventory of Goods belonging to the late King at Holmby House, *Memorials of Holdenby, ut sup.*, p. xxviii.

other pious Exercises," his favourite authors at Holdenby being Andrewes's *Sermons*, Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, Shakespeare, Herbert, and translations of Ariosto and Tasso.

From the moment of his arrival at Holdenby, Charles I. entered into negotiations with both Houses of Parliament. His first message concerned his desire to have the attendance of some of his chaplains, for the exercise of his conscience, and the assistance of his judgment regarding the present religious differences. This requisition and another on the same subject three weeks later, were taken no notice of. Six weeks after there seemed a prospect of "a safe and well-grounded peace" being arrived at. The king then agreed to certain important concessions, and desired a personal conference. In the midst of the vacillating deliberations of the parliament, as to the disposal of the king's person, he was suddenly snatched from them by the daring of Cornet Joyce and placed in the charge of the army.

It was on June 2nd that a party of seven hundred horse, selected from every regiment and "obscurely headed," arrived at Kingsthorpe, four miles from Holdenby; they rested on Harlestone Heath, and intelligence being brought to the commissioners, the gates were closed, the king's guard doubled, and preparations made for defence. During the night the troops advanced, and surrounded Holdenby House, and at daybreak their leader, Cornet Joyce drew up his forces at the back of the house. The king's troops fraternised with their old comrades, and opened the gates. Colonel Graves, the governor, fearing capture, on the advice of the commissioners, reluctantly fled. Joyce set the guard and posted the sentinels, assuring the commissioners at noon that their orders given to him would be carried out consistent with the king's safety. A period of tranquillity ensued, but understanding later that Graves had gone for succour, Joyce determined that the king should be removed without delay. At midnight he forced his way, pistol in hand, into the royal bedchamber, and announced his intention. To this the sovereign finally consented, provided that the assurances given by Joyce were confirmed by the soldiers under his command.

On the following morning at six o'clock Joyce drew up his forces in the base court, facing the east window of the gallery. The king descended from his chamber, and addressed the party at some length, standing on the top of the steps of the grand entrance.¹ He required to know under what commission Joyce was acting. "It is behind me," replied the Cornet, indicating the soldiers. "It is," said Charles, who had the pleasant courtesy, and, at times the happy tact of a Stuart, "in fair characters, and well written, legible without spelling." Finally, on the King's proposal, it was decided that he should be taken to Newmarket, and Lord Montagu, holding in his hand the written authority of parliament to the commissioners, for the care of the king, asked whether the soldiers sanctioned Joyce's proposition. They were unanimous. So there was no alternative, and on that day, June 4th, 1647, the four months of historic captivity came to an abrupt end. And Charles I. went from Holdenby House, stage by stage, and step by step to the scaffold, to which his political obliquity had fore-doomed him. But he possessed the true spirit of his race. "I fear not death," he said on the memorable occasion. "Death is not terrible to me, I bless my God I am prepared." Are not these things written with faithfulness and pathos in the pages of the Royalist Classic, the narrative of Sir Thomas Herbert, he who could not trust his heart "to endure the sight of that Violence they upon the Scaffold would offer the King," the shedding of the dark stream which floated Charles II. to the throne; the deed of a determined and avenging minority, and injurious to the cause of freedom.

From the chivalry at Whitehall to the doomed house at Holdenby is truly bathos. The Parliament decreed its downfall, and two years after the king's departure, under the evil auspices of a "roundhead" Yorkshire speculator, the evidences of Hatton's munificence and Thorpe's genius were soon dispersed over Northampton-

¹ "The Perfect Narration betwixt his Majesty and Cornet George Joyce," written by Lord Montagu, was read in the House of Peers, June 10, 1647. This statement shows that the king stood upon the top of the steps of the

house, Joyce facing him at their foot. The exact spot where the memorable interview took place being thus known it seems desirable that a stone should be placed there recording the fact.

shire. So had it been centuries before, when Hadrian's great barrier was treated as a stone quarry, and as at the sixteenth century upheaval, stately monastic buildings were scattered broadcast in countless districts.

In a Parliamentary Survey of Holdenby, made in 1650, preparatory to its sale and destruction, the following description of the garden is given :

"On the south syde of the saide Mausion House is a pleasant, spacious, and faire Garden, adorned with severall long Walkes, Mounts, Arbors, and seats, with curious delightfull Knotts, and in which Garden are many ffuite trees of divers kinds ; on the south of the said Garden is a large Orchard, well planted, commonly called the Lower Orchard, sett artificially in Walkes with several Ascents, and in the said Orchard are Six ffish-ponds, well stored ; on the west of the aforesaid Garden, lyeth another Orchard, comonly called the Upper Orchard, planted with several ffuite trees, and in it a long shady Walke ; on the north syde of the said Orchard is a large Bowling Alley, and on the north and west of the said Bowling Alley, are two Walkes artificially set with well grown trees, and in the north west corner of the said Walks there is a pleasant Mountt ; on the west syde of the aforesaid Garden and Upper Orchard, are two Spynneys, well set and grown with Ashes, and in them variety of delightful Walkes and on the east side of the said Spynneys, is a faire Water House, with a very large Cisterne, into which water is conveyed by several leaden Pipis, from Sundry Heades, which serves the whole House and all the Offices thereunto belonging."

It may be noticed how much the compiler of a cold formal survey and appraisalment, for sale and destruction, was carried away by the beauty of the place. He estimated the value of the house and offices as they stand, at £6,000, and the site of the house when cleared at twenty shillings a year. The Pleasant Mount particularised remains, and there is another east of the gardens, below the terraces.

The Survey mentions in the description of the House that there were "four magnificent towers or turrets" in the four corners of the first court. Such towers are faintly shown on Treswell's plan of the lay-out. Unless this drawing is merely a surveyor's conventional palace, one would say that Holdenby resembled Burghley in the general treatment of its outlines.

In the county town long remained three houses, of which the origin is unmistakable. They escaped the

¹ *Memorials of Holdenby, ut sup.*, p. viij.

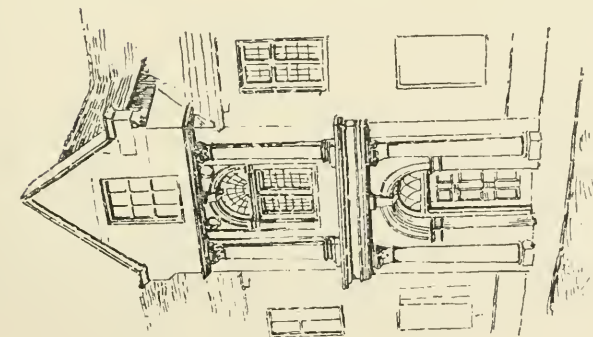


FIG. 5.

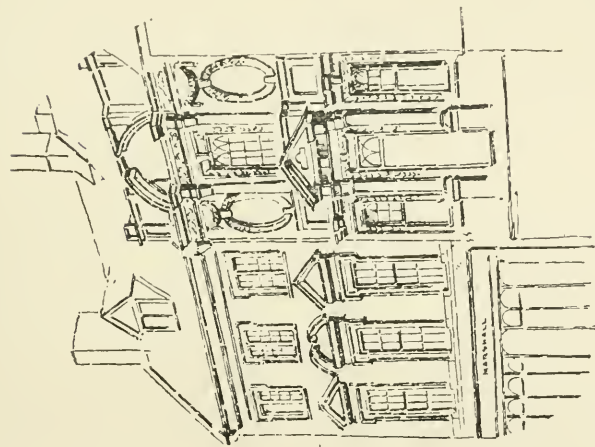


FIG. 6.

OLD HOUSES IN NORTHAMPTON.

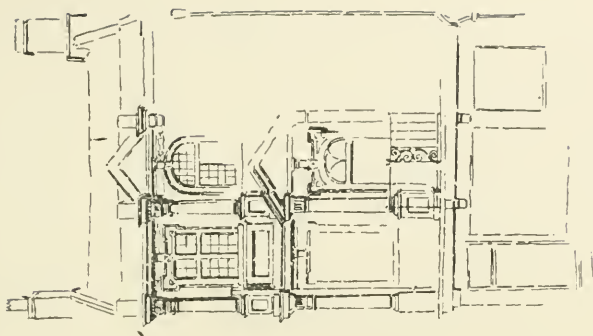


FIG. 7.

Great Fire of 1675, but were removed some years ago. One of them was known as "Little Holmby." We have their accurate presentments in the late Mr. E. Pretty's drawings.¹ Figs. 5, 6, 7. By taking the columniated portions shown, together with Thorpe's plan, and Stukely's sketch, by a process of reduplication, we can form an exact idea of the façades of Holdenby House, and from this material the principal parts of the great building could be reproduced on paper. There remains a house at the north-east corner of the Market Square, Northampton, of which some of the stone work may have come from Holdenby. It bears several coats of arms, and the expressive motto of the ancient princely family of Meyrick : HEB DDUW HEB DDIM DDUW A DIGON, "without God without everything, God and enough." In this manner Holdenby House, with its proverbial brightness,² passed away, as Béranger might have put it :

Comme une étoile qui file,
Qui file, file, et disparaît.

This essay may fitly end with the churchyard. Thanks to the refinement of the present possessors of the ancient Holdenby and Hatton estate here, the sacred acre is an ideally beautiful spot, secluded below Sir Christopher Hatton's plateau, "far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife," and appropriately surrounded by a wall formed, in the main, of sculptured Ketton stones from the House, set up by Mr. Amiand. Here are many memorials of the Clifden, Hartshorne, and Alderson families, which, together with the deathless historic aroma of the place, may, in the fullness of time, form further worthy objects of pilgrimage for wayfaring antiquaries, long after we have passed away.

¹ These drawings form part of the bequest of the late Mr. M. H. Bloxam to Rugby School and are here reproduced by the obliging courtesy of the Head Master.

² The south front of Holdenby House contained a row of twenty-three great four-light mullioned and transomed windows, separated by Corinthian columns, the whole forming so great a display of glass surfaces as to have given

rise to the local proverb, still in use, "as bright as Holmby." We gather exactly what the glass at Holdenby was like from that still existing at Kirby Hall. It was cylinder-made, of a pale sea-green tint, and had many striations, "blebs," or bubbles in it, and the inequality of surface which added so much to the brilliancy of its appearance in the sun. See *Old English Glasses*, 1897, 212, by the writer.





FIG. 1.—REMAINS OF PILLARED HYPOCAUST.



FIG. 2.—SLAB WITH REPRESENTATION OF A LEGIONARY STANDARD.



THE CORBRIDGE EXCAVATIONS, 1907.

By R. H. FORSTER.

These excavations were continued from July to October, 1907, under the superintendence of Mr. C. L. Woolley, M.A., with satisfactory results. A portion of the main road to the town from the south, close to the site of the northern abutment of the bridge, was carefully examined, remains of three distinct periods being found. As elsewhere, the earliest road was the best, and its continuous lines of massive kerb stones were very striking; the third road, which lay about four feet above the first, was of very poor quality, and probably dates from the middle or latter part of the fourth century.

The large house in the south-west quarter of the town, which was partly uncovered in 1906, has been completely explored, with the exception of a small portion at the north-east corner. Here, again, the remains belonged to several periods, but with the assistance of Mr. W. H. St. John Hope an intelligible plan has been made out, showing a building of considerable size, with returns at the east and west ends, enclosing what seem to have been a series of open courts. In its later stages the house had a northern and a southern corridor, and under a portion of the latter was a small pillared hypocaust, Plate I, fig. 1, while the remains of other hypocausts of a rougher description occurred in some of the western rooms.

Adjoining the north side of the house were the remains of an open court, in the centre of which, at an early period, there had been a fine cistern lined with *opus signinum*, but later this had been filled up and a wall built across it. Amongst the débris which had been used for this purpose was found a sculptured group of a lion and stag, which has attracted much attention, Plate II. The stag lies in a state of collapse, and the

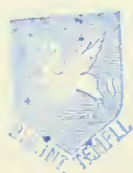
lion stands on its back, the whole group having apparently formed a fountain. The lion's open mouth is pierced at the back to admit a water-pipe, and probably the fountain played into the cistern in which the sculpture was found.

To the north of this court was a space which may possibly have been an open yard, but the remains discovered were in such confusion that it was scarcely possible to form any decided opinion. Still further up the slope was a range of chambers with a narrow platform or terrace on the south side. Beyond this line, on the brow of the hill, was a space in which practically no traces of foundations were discovered, but towards the northern limit of the reserved area were found several rubbish-pits, which produced *terra sigillata* and other pottery, a quantity of fragments of large *amphorae*, a small glass bottle of elegant design, and a bronze jug.

Much important work was also done in an adjoining field nearer the centre of the site. Here a broad paved street was found, showing the levels of three successive periods, the latest being probably of the latter part of the fourth century, possibly of the time of Theodosius. The excavations were mainly confined to the south side of this street, but as most of the buildings extended southwards into the next field a full investigation was not possible; one site, however, yielded important results. In the north-west corner of an earlier building were the remains of what had evidently been a shop for the sale of pottery. It had been destroyed by fire—to judge by the evidence of the coins found in it—not earlier than A.D. 340, and a large number of vessels were found in the burnt layer exactly as they had fallen when the shelves collapsed. The greater part of the stock had consisted of white *mortaria*, and there was also a quantity of thin brown, grey, and drab ware; but the most important find consisted of the remains of a number of vessels of *terra sigillata*, many of which have been restored. These were mainly plain, straight-sided cups and dishes, which apart from other evidence would, on the strength of their shapes and the potters' marks, have been assigned to the second century; but it seems fairly certain that they were exposed for sale in the shop in Corstopitum about the middle of the fourth century,



SCULPTURED GROUP OF LION AND STAG.





SLAB WITH INSCRIPTION TO ANTONINUS PIUS.

and the bearing of this fact on the received opinions as to the latest date of the manufacture of *terra sigillata* is likely to arouse much discussion.

On the north side of the street two sites were examined with important results. On one of these was found a large part of a finely carved slab, bearing an inscription to Antoninus Pius, set up in A.D. 140 by the Second Legion under Lollius Urbicus (Plate III). Close to this was a portion of another slab, on which was a representation of a legionary standard with the inscription VEXILLUS/LEG II AVG (Plate I, fig. 2). The site appears to have been occupied by an important building, which, it is hoped, will be fully excavated this year. Immediately to the east were the remains of a structure of great interest, consisting of a *podium* of large dressed blocks. In front of this was a tank, from which, apparently, the inhabitants of the town had drawn their supplies of water, the slabs which formed the sides being irregularly scalloped, probably by the friction of the water vessels. The *podium* measures nineteen feet from east to west along the street front, and thirteen feet six inches from north to south, the northern corners being bevelled off above the foundation course. It appears to have been surrounded by a low screen of pilasters and carved stone panels, and at either side of the front there has been a substantial pedestal, probably for a statue. The structure may have supported a cistern for the supply of water to the tank, but more work is necessary before its purpose can be definitely determined. Near the north end were found fragments of a small pediment, which had been ornamented with winged Victories supporting a circular panel; the latter had borne the inscription LEG/XX. V.V./FECIT.

The excavations will be continued next July, the reserved area being a stretch of promising ground on the north side of the street in the upper field, and including the two last-mentioned sites.



OBJECTS EXCAVATED AT CORBRIDGE IN 1907.



FIG. 1.—OUTSIDE VIEW.



FIG. 2.—INSIDE VIEW.

DRAIN THROUGH ROMAN WALL.

EXCAVATIONS ON THE SITE OF THE ROMAN FORTRESS AT PEVENSEY, 1907-08.

By L. F. SALZMANN.

As a result of the excavations carried on during the winter of 1906-7 in the vicinity of the north postern of the Roman castrum at Pevensey, it was decided to continue the exploration of the north-western quarter of the fortress. Accordingly the portion of the area within the walls lying between the west gate and the scene of the previous season's operations, and bounded on the south by the present pathway, was fenced in, and trenching was commenced in the third week of October, 1907 (see Plan). A careful examination of the wall from the outside had revealed the presence of a blocked drain built into the plinth (Plate I, Fig. 1), of which the lower member marks the original ground level, which is now some 12 inches above the present surface, owing mainly to the subsidence of the soil consequent upon the drainage of the marshes. The presumption being that this drain, the only one discernible throughout the course of the wall, drained some particular structure, this was selected as the starting point of the season's work. A shaft (No. I) was sunk against the inner face of the wall over the point at which the drain pierced the wall; at a depth of 10 feet the offset, corresponding to the upper member of the external double plinth, was struck and the top of the drain was found to be composed of a large slab of the green sandstone with which the wall is faced, forming part of the offset (Plate I, Fig. 2). The sides and bottom of the drain were also of green sandstone, and the aperture, which measured 12 inches wide by 10 inches high, was loosely blocked with other fragments of this material, some squared and some rough, and pieces of broken flints, below which were a few inches of black soil containing animal bones,

and just below the entrance to the drain, fragments of common pottery of the Roman period, also a coin of the Constantine family. The general appearance of the remains suggested that the drain had become blocked at an early date, soon after the building of the wall, and as no trace was found of any channel leading up to its mouth it seems probable that it was originally constructed to serve some intended structures (possibly, baths) which were never built; it need hardly be pointed out that if the scheme of the fortress-builders called for such a drain it should have been constructed during the building of the wall, as a subsequent cutting through of 12 feet of solid Roman masonry would be no simple task; the drain would, therefore, exist whether the purpose for which it was designed were carried out or not.

A trench (No. II) was next driven southwards from the drain and approximately in a line with its course through the wall. At a distance of 40 feet from the face of the wall, the surface of the natural, undisturbed clay, here 4 feet below the present ground level, dipped suddenly, the trench section showing that we had cut across a pit or trench in the natural clay, 2 feet 6 inches deep, 15 feet wide at the top, and narrowing to about 4 feet at the bottom. The sides of this depression were defined by a layer of black earth, the soil in the centre consisting of a filling of clay with some admixture of black earth and containing some fragments of Roman pottery and a coin of the Constantine period. To explore this hollow a trench (No. IV) was driven eastwards at right angles to the first trench. At a depth of 7 feet 9 inches from the present surface a horizontal timber was met with, and further excavation proved this to be the uppermost timber of a well (Plate II). When the superincumbent soil had been removed the well was found to be square with an aperture of a little over 3 feet, its sides composed of barks of timber notched into one another, the overlapping ends projecting on the south side as much as 1 foot 6 inches, but to a less extent on the north. Before opening the well a shaft was sunk on the outside at the south-east angle, to a depth of 8 feet from the top timber, or 15 feet 6 inches





ROMAN WELL FROM THE SOUTH-EAST SHOWING OVERLAPPING TIMBER AT THE ANGLE.

from the present ground level. It was evident that the well had been constructed by digging a large hole and building up the timbers against the clay wall on the north side of the hole, the clay here being in its natural undisturbed condition; the timbers were notched into one another and the space round filled up with clay as the work proceeded, the chips from the timbers being found at various levels in our angle shaft. The remains found in this clay filling were entirely of Roman date, consisting of a few fragments of red and black pottery, tile, and the above-mentioned chips of wood.

The mouth of the well was found to be filled to the depth of about 4 feet with sticky brown earth containing practically no remains, but below this the earth became black in colour and highly charged with vegetable matter, quantities of straw, matted grass, and what had apparently been thatch being turned out from about 5 feet downwards. Many sticks and pieces of wood occurred in very good preservation, the bark in many cases being still perfect. Slightly lower, from about 5 feet 6 inches, bones became numerous, a series of skulls of oxen, goats, etc., being brought to light, with the interesting cat's skull referred to below, as well as a number of greensand boulders, one very large specimen being extracted with some difficulty from a depth of 7 feet. These finds point to the well having been disused and, as was not infrequently the case, converted into a rubbish pit; while the fact that fragments of coarse black Roman pottery were found some 5 feet from the mouth, and no remains of post-Roman date were found within it, is conclusive evidence that the well was disused and filled up before the end of the Roman occupation; amongst the rubbish cast into the well appear to have been quite a number of old shoes, many fragments of leather being recovered, some of which showed the characteristic sewing of the period, though no nail-studded soles occurred. Near the bottom, at about 10 feet from the mouth, were found extensive remains of a rope composed of three strands of material resembling grass in appearance, which, when submitted to the director of Kew Gardens, was pronounced to be composed of strips of two kinds of bark, one being

tamarisk but the other unidentifiable. This find was additionally interesting as no cordage appears to have been as yet found at Silchester or elsewhere on Roman sites in England. Near the rope was found part of a flat oval piece of wood and some broad thin fragments of wood, which appear to have been respectively the bottom and staves of a bucket, while a small bronze object, the only piece of metal which the well yielded, with the exception of a little iron knife, has the appearance of being one of the ears of the bucket, the handle and hoops of which were probably of withes or bark.

The timbers forming the sides of the well, though very much decayed at the top, were in perfect condition lower down; they were formed of logs split longitudinally and laid with the flat side inwards, the outer side being left rounded (Plate III); the flat inner face of each timber measured on an average 10 inches, there being thirteen courses in the total depth of 10 feet 8 inches. Although the timbering came to an end at this depth the undisturbed soil was not reached until a further 1 foot 6 inches or 2 feet; this undisturbed soil proved to be sand, the clay bed in this part being only 11 to 12 feet thick. The section of the soil south of the well shows that, after the well was built, the clay was filled up round it just up to its mouth, and a large cup-shaped hollow, of which the well formed the lowest point, left, perhaps to assist in collecting the surface water. This hollow, or pond, remained open long enough for a considerable layer of black earth to accumulate in it, and was then filled up to the level of the surrounding ground with clay, and it was probably at this time or not long after that the well itself was filled up.

The pieces of wood and many samples of earth from the well were preserved and a list of the varieties of plants identified is given at the end of this paper.

On continuing the north and south trench (No. II) a little further, about 15 feet south of the well the black earth was found to dip rapidly eastwards, and after unearthing a quantity of fragments of cream-coloured pottery at a depth of 7 feet 9 inches from the surface two holes, each about 2 inches in diameter and 14 or 15 inches apart, were observed leading downwards in



ROMAN WELL FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.



a slanting direction. The sides of these pipe-like holes were lined with a hardish brown incrustation. Upon digging down it was found that they had contained wooden shafts, 2 inches square, which still remained in their lower end. These shafts proved to be the sides of a rough ladder, of which one rung, held in place by wooden pegs, still remained *in situ*, while traces of other rungs and a number of the pegs were also found. At a depth of 16 feet 6 inches a number of interesting remains were brought to light. A wooden shovel with a rounded handle 3 feet 6 inches long and a flat blade 14 inches long by 7 inches broad; the bottom and staves of a wooden bucket, oval (15 inches by 11 inches), the edges of the bottom being bevelled and the staves grooved to receive the bevelled edge; and considerable traces of some woven material, possibly sacking. Slightly lower were found two turned beechwood bowls, 8 inches in diameter, with a maximum depth of $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches; also remains of wattling, which had possibly formed part of a basket, and some pointed stakes, as well as a second wooden shovel, shorter than the first, but resembling it in having a flat blade, of which the bottom edge was in this case bevelled on the under side. The pottery found in this pit, of which the bottom was 19 feet below the present surface, was undoubtedly mediaeval, and probably of the thirteenth century. It seems probable that the pit was dug in order to obtain the sand, of which there is a very fine vein below the clay. This sand seems to have been partly dug out under the clay forming a bell pit, wider at the bottom than above, and it would seem that the sides must have suddenly fallen in, covering up the objects found. From two shovels and two bowls being found it would seem that two workmen were engaged upon the pit at the time that it collapsed.

From the south side of this mediaeval shaft a trench (No. X) was driven in continuation of the first trench, down to the southern boundary of the enclosed area. For a distance of 50 feet from the north end, which was started a few feet south of shaft No. VII, the yellow virgin clay was reached at a depth of from 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet, and presented a very even surface throughout the

whole of this length. Immediately on the top of this clay small beach pebbles were found in places and the remains in the soil above were comparatively scanty, consisting of the common mediaeval type of pottery near the surface mixed in places with black and grey Roman ware; 40 feet from the south end the dumped clay, mentioned in last year's report, was encountered and presented similar features to that seen in No. X trench of last season's excavations. Dealing with the strata in chronological order we first have the original clay of the island, then a vein of black earth, from 12 inches to 15 inches in thickness, containing Roman remains, next a layer of large waterworn beach boulders about 8 inches in thickness; about all this is a deposit of mottled clay 4 feet 8 inches in thickness at the southern end and tapering to nothing at its northern escarpment. Here a peculiar feature was noticed, which was also present in that season's trench above referred to, namely, an embankment of black earth with a ditch on the inner side, the bank containing a quantity of boulders. This appears to run right along the edge of the dumped clay, but there were insufficient data to determine whether it was thrown up prior to or at the time the dump was made, though the latter seems more probable. This is a feature, however, which may be explained by future excavations, and its elucidation may be important in unravelling the plan of the site in Roman times.

Another trench (No. VI) was carried from near the well right across the enclosed area to the west gate, but this also proved very disappointing and barren of results. Some 20 feet from its north-east end it crossed a patch of gravel or small beach stones lying just above the natural clay, and further west patches of mortar were found, but no trace of any buildings or foundations. A bed of mortar and a quantity of fragments of Roman tiles were also the only objects, beyond coins and pottery, brought to light by the short trench (No. III) to the west of the first trench. As funds did not permit of further extensive trenching a number of holes were dug (marked in the plan VIII, IX, XI, XII, XIII, XIV and XV) in the unexplored portion of the area, but no foundations were found. At IX a small patch of mortar was uncovered, and at XII, a very

much bigger bed. All these mortar beds, and also the patch of beach stones already mentioned, were clearly the remains of material used in building the great wall, and although of no interest in themselves, are of much value as circumstantial evidence of there having been no buildings in this part of the area. The presence of these undisturbed patches of mortar, etc., shows conclusively that the absence of any trace of permanent buildings in this part of the site is not due to their complete removal, but to their never having been erected. It may therefore be claimed with justice that although the results of this season's work were disappointing they were none the less valuable as throwing light upon the actual condition of the fortress in Roman times. It may now be regarded as settled almost beyond dispute that the north-west quarter of the camp was either unoccupied or occupied solely by temporary erections such as the wattle-and-daub huts of which traces were found last season. It still remains for future excavations to show whether any permanent buildings were erected further east.

Another way in which these mortar beds add to our knowledge is that in every case in which they were dug through, no remains of any description were found underneath them, and they were nearly always found to lie directly upon the undisturbed clay, so that there had evidently been no occupation sufficient to produce a marked stratum of deposits prior to the building of the great wall. With regard to the erection of the wall the evidence of the coins found bears out the similar evidence of the first season's coins, which ranged between A.D. 254 and 375. The coins found this season were :

Carausius [287-293]	1	Maximianus [307-313]	1
Allectus [293-296]	2 ?	Crispus [317-326]	1
Constantius Chlorus [292-305]	1	Constantine II. [337-340]	4
Constantine [306-337]	2	Constans [337-350]	4
Const ? [4th c.]	3	Magnentius [350-353]	1
Urbs Roma	4	Valens [367-378]	3 ?
Constantinopolis	2	Gratian [375-383]	2
		Uncertain	11

No further examples of tiles stamped with the title of the Emperor Honorius were found, of which one specimen occurred in the previous season, but a fragment of red tile or brick was turned up which bore the letters BR

within a rectangular cartouche and clearly belonged to the CL(assiarum) BR(itannici), or British Marines (Plate IV, Fig. 1). The stamp in question resembles some of those found at Lympne and now in the British Museum, and is quite unlike the specimen previously found at Pevensey. No other inscribed examples were discovered, and the other fragments of tile and brick presented no particular features of interest; they are almost invariably roofing tiles or bonding bricks, to the exclusion of hypocaust tiles and flue pieces, and this is again evidence of the absence of permanent buildings of any importance.

The pottery, as might be expected, was on the whole very similar to that obtained during the first season's work. As before, it was extremely fragmentary, and for the most part of late date; "Samian" was present in only small quantities, and it is unfortunate that the only two pieces which had borne potter's marks were so broken that the letters were completely destroyed. Of imitation "Samian" red wares considerable quantities were found; many pieces of red painted ware with simple but effective decoration in white occurred, as well as a great variety of stamped or impressed patterns. With these latter may be grouped some fragments with the chequered decoration characteristic of the fourth century potteries of Marne.

"Castor" ware this year was absent, with the possible exception of a very few pieces which may have come from either the English potteries or those of the Netherlands, but several fragments of the metallic New Forest ware were brought to light. Of unknown derivation is a very fine ware of cream body, coloured brown and ornamented with bands of simple impressed circles; two examples of this ware, one a small shallow bowl and the other a larger bellied vase, were amongst the most interesting finds. Mention must also be made of two human masks which had formed the ornamentation of vases. The smaller, very similar to one found previously, is of poor execution, but the other and larger (measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches square), though somewhat barbaric, possesses considerable modelling vigour (Plate IV, Fig. 2).

The mass of the earthenware was, naturally, of the common black or grey types; an immense variety of rims and bases, representing innumerable vessels, was found,



FIG. 1.—FRAGMENT OF BRICK WITH [CL] BR STAMP.



FIG. 2.—POTTERY MASK



FIG. 3.—JAR FROM THE PIT, OR DEEP SHAFT.

but all extremely fragmentary. The decoration in these examples, where any exists, is usually of the simplest nature; broad bands of darker or lighter colour, and patterns of intersecting straight or wavy lines, shallowly incised and giving the appearance of pencil marks, are the commonest forms, though in one or two cases crescents and circles are introduced. A wavy "combing" is also found, particularly on some fragments of what have clearly been vessels of great size, judging from the slight curvature and the thickness of the pieces. Others of these large vessels were ornamented with rows of plain incised circles about half an inch in diameter. Two fragments of a *mortarium* of grey ware were found, the only instances of the kind, though *mortaria* of red, cream coloured, and painted earthenware are abundant.

Glass was present in small quantities, but displayed no features of interest. A *fibula* of a very plain type, and the end of a *ligula*, were almost the only objects of bronze. Of iron, nails were plentiful, a small knife was found in the well, and a little trident (measuring $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches across, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches length of prongs) of uncertain use and date, also occurred. Two pointed bone objects, either instruments for punching holes or possibly for writing, a straight bone knife handle, and several cut and half worked pieces of stag's horn and bones, may complete the list of the Roman remains.

Of mediaeval relics, there were again found many spear, arrow and bolt heads of the twelfth or thirteenth century, but more importance attaches to the pottery. First place must be assigned to two vases of graceful design and excellent execution which were found in the deep shaft referred to above, and have been carefully restored by the patient skill of Mr. Frank Maitland. In the same shaft were found portions of a third similar vessel with vertical bands of "pinched ribbon" ornamentation. These three were of cream coloured ware, but a fourth of which only the lower part was recovered, had been slate grey, with the same bands of "pinched ribbon." All these seem to belong to the thirteenth century. Considerable fragments of a very large vessel, apparently of Norman date, were skilfully pieced together by Mr. Ray;

it is of coarse blue-black earthenware, the inner surface covered with finger impressions, and it is remarkable that in one or two places the hollows made by the fingers were actually holes right through the sides of the vessel, which could not therefore have held liquids, but must presumably have been used for storing grain or some similar purpose (Plate IV, Fig. 3). Examples of "thumb-pressed" bases belonging to jugs of the fourteenth century and of various glazes of the same or later date were present, but do not call for special notice. It only remains therefore to give a list of the organic remains found.

Mr. E. T. Newton, F.R.S., who most kindly examined the bones from the lower, Roman, strata, reports as follows :

"The bones found at Pevensey during the excavations of 1907 represent the usual domestic animals with a few wild forms, very similar to those found in 1906, as will be seen from the accompanying list, and for the most part therefore need no comment."

"The bones of oxen are the most numerous, and some of them are undoubtedly those of the long-faced ox (*Bos taurus* var. *longifrons*). Sheep, horse, and wild boar are well represented in nearly every excavation made. One tusk of a wild boar may be mentioned on account of its large size, measuring as it does $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch across the enamel surface, and must have belonged to a very fine animal. Some evidence of at least two breeds of dogs have been found, one large and the other smaller."

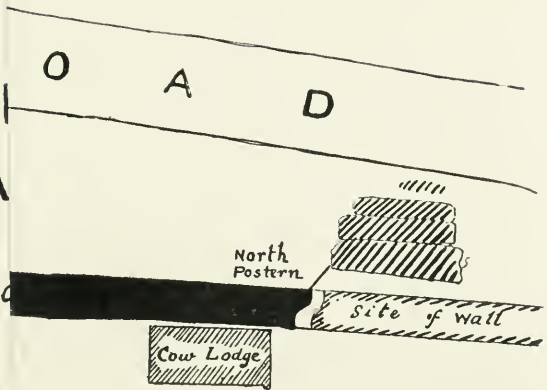
"Last year the remains of a cat were recorded from these Pevensey excavations, but unfortunately the exact place and depth were not known. This year, happily, remains of cats have been exhumed at two spots, and in both places at some depth from the surface; so that there is no reason for doubting their Roman age. One femur was found in trench 6, in the fourth layer from the surface, and a skull with several limb bones in the timbered well at a depth of 5 feet 6 inches from the mouth."

"These remains of cats are of much interest, confirming, as they do, the discoveries of last year at Pevensey, adding not a little to the evidence, obtained a few years ago at Silchester, that the Romans possessed domestic cats. These Pevensey feline bones, like those from Silchester, are rather small, but otherwise cannot at present be distinguished from those of our modern domestic cat. It is hoped that more material may be obtained, and that a careful study of them may throw a clearer light on the true relationship of these Roman cats."

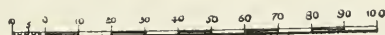
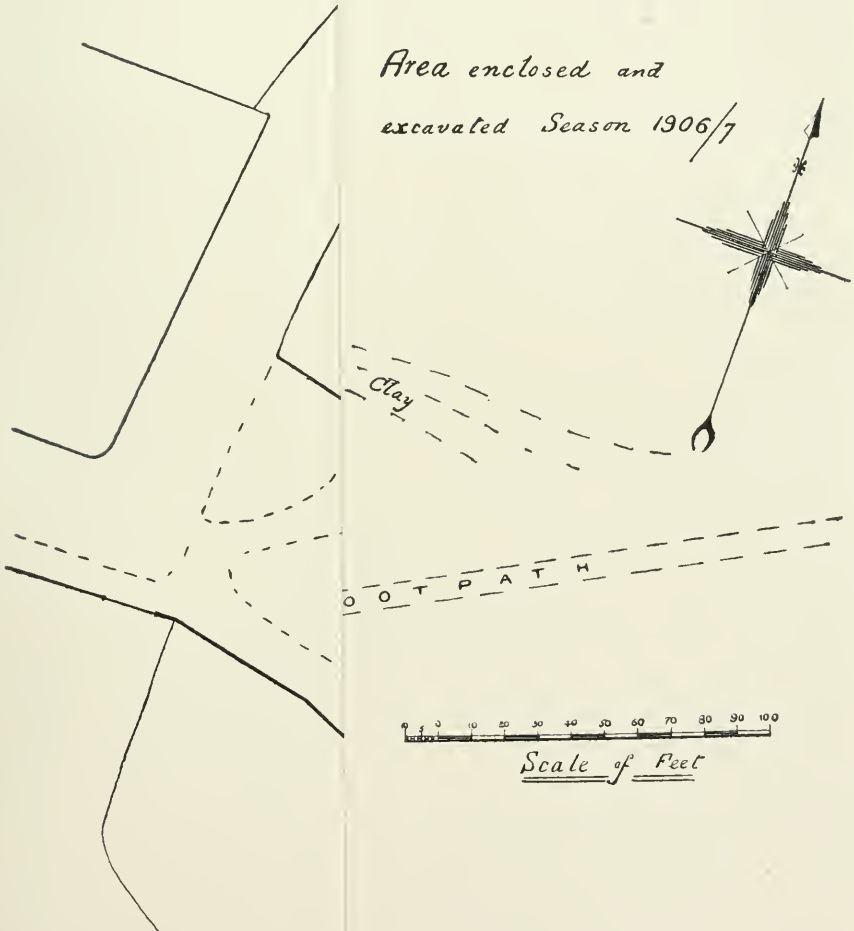
Some samples of soil from the Roman well were submitted to Mr. Clement Reid, F.R.S., for examination, and one seed of henbane, which has not previously been found on any Romano-British site, was identified by him. The other plants represented were :

PEVER CA

Plan of Excavation
1907/8



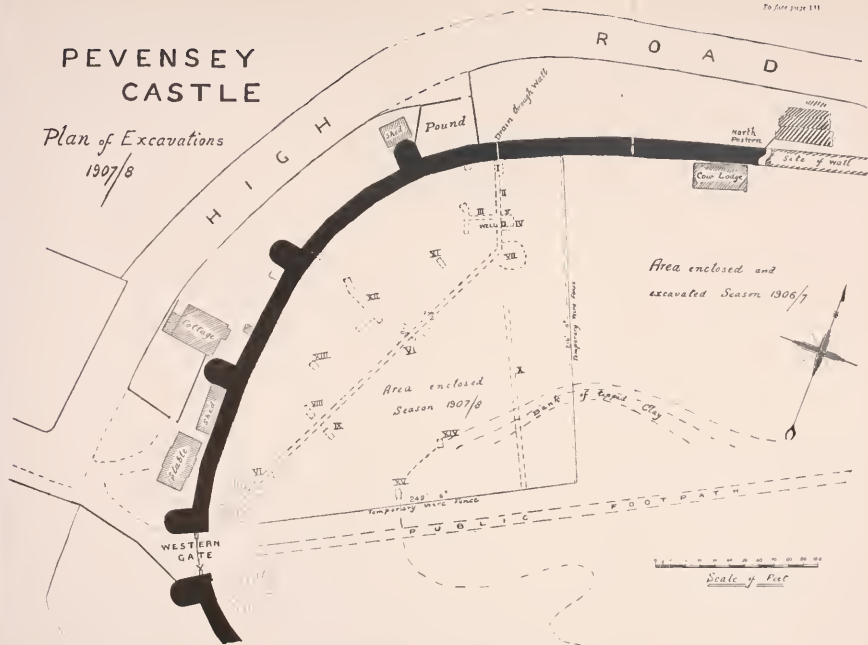
Area enclosed and
excavated Season 1906/7



Scale of Feet

PEVENSEY CASTLE

Plan of Excavations
1907/8



Flax (*Linum usitatissimum*).
 Buttercup (*Ranunculus repens*).
 Wild Radish (*Raphanus raphanistrum*).
 Fool's Parsley (*Aethusa cynapium*).
 Henbane (*Hyoscyamus niger*).
 Swine's Cress (*Senebiera coronopus*).
 Hemlock (*Conium maculatum*).
 Knotgrass (*Polygonum aviculare*).
 Black Bindweed (*Polygonum convolvulus*).
 Persicaria (*Polygonum persicaria*).
 Fiddle Dock (*Rumex crispus*).
 Sheep's sorrel (*Rumex acetosella*).
 Stinging nettle (*Urtica urens*, and *U. dioica*).
 Dead-nettle (*Lamium purpureum*).
 Lesser Stichwort (*Stellaria graminea*).
 White Campion (*Lychnis alba*).
 Orache (*Atriplex patula*, and *A. hastata*).
 Seablite (*Sueda maritima*).
 Sowthistle (*Sonchus asper*, and *S. oleraceus*).
 Blackberry (*Rubus fruticosus*).
 Vetch (*Vicia*).
 Sedge (*Carex*).
 Bracken (*Pteris aquilina*).

In addition to these plants Mr. A. H. Lyell, F.S.A., has identified among the pieces of wood from the well submitted to him :

Oak (*Quercus robur*).
 Hazel (*Corylus avellana*).
 Willow (*Salix alba*).
 Maple ? (*Acer campestre*).
 Hawthorn (*Crataegus oxyacantha*).
 Beech (*Fagus sylvestris*).

The presence of beech is satisfactory as confirming the evidence of last season when a piece of beech-charcoal was found. The interest of this find lies in the fact that it has sometimes been doubted whether the beech grew in Britain at the time of the Roman occupation.

Obituary.

THE LATE RICHARD EDWARD GOOLDEN, F.S.A.

It is the fate of all societies, and perhaps more especially of Archaeological Societies whose members are more frequently elderly men, to continually deplore the loss of old friends and old faces each of them attractive to us by some special gifts or graces. A few months ago we lost our venerable Treasurer, now we have to regret the departure of another of our friends endeared to us by the same personal ties always created by gentleness and urbanity. Mr. Richard E. Goolden was the eldest son of the late Richard H. Goolden, M.D., F.R.C.P. He was born in John Street, the Adelphi, on the 24th July, 1839. His mother, the younger daughter of J. Naylor, Esq., was an intimate friend of Crabbe Robinson, the famous and brilliant raconteur and literary gossip, and nothing delighted Mr. Goolden more than to report stories and anecdotes which he had himself heard at his table. He was educated at the Merchant Taylors' School, and after learning his business in the City he became a partner in an East Indian firm and went out to Calcutta in 1863. In 1866 he returned to England in ill-health and continued in business as an East India merchant for some years, when he retired and afterwards lived at Cookham with his sister, in a very attractive house, to which he loved to take his intimate friends; and eventually he, in 1897, married the widow of the famous naturalist, Henry Seebohm. He was a skilled oarsman and a member of the Leander Club, and was also proficient at polo in the early days of the game. In his latter years he took great interest in archaeology, especially in that of the Thames valley, and he enriched the British Museum by several gifts of objects found in the Thames. Mr. Goolden joined the Institute in 1897; he was a very constant attendant at our meetings in London, and also at our excursions in the country, and served for some years on our Council, and his genial face and kindly presence will long be missed among us.

H. H. H.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF NUBIA. Bulletin No. 1, dealing with the work up to Nov. 30th, 1907. Survey Department, Cairo, 1908.

When it was decided to raise the level of the water in the Aswan reservoir to the 113 metre level, it became apparent that the traces of early civilisation scattered over the area to be submerged would be in great measure obliterated, and accordingly a government survey of the district was commenced in September of last year.

Eleven cemeteries, containing many thousands of graves, have already been discovered, their contents recorded, and large-scale site-maps have been prepared, while the detailed classification of small objects and the like is being reserved for later consideration. The burials would appear to range from the pre-dynastic period up to early Christian times.

The bulletin, the first instalment of a series, contains the record of many facts of great interest, but all inferences and conclusions and all discussion is postponed until more ground has been surveyed and more information has been accumulated.

THE ITINERARY OF JOHN LELAND IN AND ABOUT THE YEARS 1535-1543. Vol. II, to be completed in five volumes. Edited by LUCY TOULMIN SMITH. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\times$ 6 $\frac{1}{4}$, vi + 192 pp. Bell, 1908. 12s. net.

We have already had the pleasure of welcoming the first and third volumes of this series, and we can now congratulate Miss Toulmin Smith on having passed the summit of her labours. The present volume maintains the high standard of its predecessors. It contains part IV, properly not an itinerary at all but a series of notes, and part V, the description of Leland's travels in the area situate between the towns of London, Oxford, Gloucester, Shrewsbury and Lichfield. Then follows, in the place assigned to it by Hearn, an appendix containing Leland's Collectanea, found at Cheltenham, and consisting of notes and abstracts made for the purpose of the great work which he never lived to write.

WEST TWYFORD, MIDDLESEX. By Mrs. BASIL HOLMES. 9 $\times$ 5 $\frac{1}{2}$, 56 pp., 6 plates. Elliot Stock, 1908. 1s. net.

This little book consists of antiquarian notes on the parish of West Twyford, near Willesden, a part of Middlesex which, until recently, was but sparsely populated. Tram lines, railways, and mean rows of small houses shew that London is spreading all too rapidly in this direction, and soon the modern builder will have obliterated the ancient landmarks. The parish is a very small one, and consists practically of the church and the manor house which is fancifully known as Twyford Abbey. The notes begin with the Domesday survey and carry the history down to the present day: they contain an account of the various families who have occupied the manor house, amongst whom we find John Lyon, citizen and grocer of London, the founder of Harrow School.

At one time, according to an entry in the register, the parish contained but one parishioner: and under these circumstances it is not surprising to learn that the existence of a rector and the holding of services were intermittent, and that the church was sadly neglected. It was restored in the orthodox manner in 1808, and provided with a set of cement pinnacles. The services were, however, soon discontinued and the church again fell into disrepair and was closed. In 1907 however, the building was again restored and a presentation made by the Crown, to whom the advowson had lapsed, and the little church will now start on a new career of usefulness as the centre of a rapidly-growing London suburb.

THE ARCHITECTURAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL RECORD. No. 1, Vol. I. 9½ x 6. 84 pp. Issued by the Architectural and Topographical Society, 33, Old Queen Street, Westminster. March, 1908.

We have much pleasure in welcoming the first number of this publication, the organ of a recently constituted body known as the Architectural and Topographical Society. The Society has been formed for the purpose of recording, before it is too late, all that can be known of ancient buildings, their architecture and history. To this end the Society contemplates the accumulation of all kinds of documents, plans and measured drawings, the publication of a quarterly journal, and the preparation of an exhaustive bibliographical catalogue of all matter, whether in the possession of the Society or not, relating to ancient buildings. The journal is planned on a novel principle. Its matter will consist of a minute description of buildings of interest, with notes on their history and cognate subjects, classified under counties and parishes. No account of any building will appear in the Journal unless all the buildings in the parish are dealt with at the same time. In this way each parish, when published, will be complete in itself, and can be used as a separate unit or re-bound in a volume devoted to a particular county. To facilitate this, each page, in addition to ordinary pagination, will bear a separate consecutive number coupled with the name of the county with which it deals. After publication of the four quarterly Journals, an index will be issued, arranged under subject headings, on the card system, a method admirably adapted for use with a work of reference constantly being added to.

To ensure the quality of the matter published, arrangements are being made by which the information supplied by contributors may be revised by "local editors" having special local antiquarian knowledge, and may also pass before "central editors," specialists in particular branches of archaeology, who will check their own special subjects. It is hoped by these means to ensure the perfect accuracy upon which the value of such a work depends.

The first number of the Journal, now before us, exemplifies the methods adopted. Half of it deals with the County of Dorset, describing exhaustively all buildings of interest in the parishes of Worth, Maltravers and Corfe; then follow, under County Kilkenny, descriptions of the parishes of Kells, Newton, Jerpoint and Callan. Full use of line drawings and details is made in these pages to illustrate the text.

The following publications have also been received by the Institute :—

- Archaeologia Cambrensis*. 6th Series, Vol. VIII, Parts 1 and 2. 1908.
The Antiquary. Vol. XLIV. January, 1908. Elliot Stock. 6d.
Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Vol. XXXVII, Part 4, and Vol. XXXVIII, Part 1. March, 1907.
Memoirs and Proceedings of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. Vol. LII, Part 1. 1907–1908.
Collections Historical and Archaeological relating to Montgomeryshire. Part LXVIII. Vol. XXXVI.
Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society Proceedings. Vol. LIII.
Fees of Fines for Essex. Part VIII. 1907.
Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society. Vol. XXX. 1908.
Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society. 3rd Series, Vol. VIII, Part 1.
The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute. Vol. XXXVII. July to December, 1907.
Records of Buckinghamshire. Vol. IX, Nos. 2 and 4.
Reports and Papers read at Meetings of the Architectural Societies of the Counties of Lincoln and York. Vol. XXVIII, Part 2.
Abstracts of the Inquisitiones Post-mortem relating to Wiltshire. Part 6.
Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. Vol. XXIX. Part 7.
Norfolk Archaeology. Vol. XV, Parts 2 and 3. Vol. XVI, Parts 1, 2 and 3. Dispositions taken before the Mayor and Aldermen of Norwich, 1549–1567. 1905.
Calendar of Deeds relating to Norwich, 1285–1306. 1903.
State Papers relating to Norfolk, 1626–1649. 1907.
Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Vol. III, Nos. 14, 15, 16, 17.
Thoresby Society, Publications of the. Vol. XIV, Part II.
A Summary of the Architectural Monuments in Cyprus. Part VI. Compiled by G. Jeffery, Esq., Nicosia. 1907.
Archaeologia Aeliana. Series 3, Vol. III.
The Manorial Society's Monographs. No. 2. *List of Manor Court Rolls in Private hands*. Part II. Together with an introduction by N. J. HONE, F.M.S. 11 × 8½, 25 pp. The Manorial Society, 1, Mitre-court-buildings, Temple, E.C.

Foreign Publications.

- Aarboger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historic*. Copenhagen, 1907.
Société Archéologique de Bordeaux. Tomes XXVI et XXVIII. 1906.
Anales del Museo Nacional de Mexico. IV, Nos. 9–12. 1907.
Mémoires de la Société Archéologique et Historique de la Charente. Ser. VII, T. VII. 1906–7.
Société de Borda Dax (Landes) troisième bulletin trimestrielle. 1907.
Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections. Vol. IV, Parts 1, 3 and 4. 1907.
Smithsonian Institute, Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin 33. 1907.
Los Calendarios Mexicanos. 14 × 25. 8 plates. XI + 62 pp. Mexico. 1907.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

April 1st, 1908.

Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH, *President*, in the Chair.

Professor HAVERFIELD, M.A., LL.D., F.S.A., read a paper on "Roman Inscriptions in Britain."

Mr. REGINALD SMITH spoke in favour of the method adopted at the British Museum for exhibiting certain of the Roman inscriptions. Till more space could be procured, the monuments found in Britain had to be placed against a wall below windows and the light was very defective. For the benefit of the public some of the inscriptions, which were not deeply cut, but of which the reading was fairly certain, had been coloured with red water-colour paint which was quite innocuous and could be easily removed if necessary. They could thus be read and recognised both by the ordinary visitor and the specialist; and the alternative to painting them was to withdraw all but the most boldly cut specimens from exhibition, for unless the lettering could be seen, in their present position they were practically meaningless, and would be occupying valuable space to no purpose. The system had been adopted years ago in other departments of the museum, and worked satisfactorily.

The PRESIDENT, Mr. WALTERS, and Mr. STEPHENSON also took part in the discussion, and a vote of thanks was accorded to the author of the paper.

May 6th, 1908.

Mr. MILL STEPHENSON, *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

Mr. J. W. WILLIS-BUND, F.S.A., read a paper on "South Wales and the Religious Orders."

Messrs. DEWICK, ST. JOHN HOPE, and the Chairman took part in the discussion, and a vote of thanks was accorded to the author of the paper.





THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, ITS ORIGIN AND HISTORY.

By SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.

PART I. *The so-called "Peterborough Chronicle"* *or MS. E.*

The most important document for the history of early England is undoubtedly the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and although it has been frequently edited and more than once with marked patience, learning and skill, there still remains a good deal to be done in the way of describing its contents and analysing its sources, in the sense in which the *Fontes* of German history have been sifted. Surely no document deserves such treatment better, nor do I know a fitter place in which to discuss it than the *Archaeological Journal*, in the earlier volumes of which such issues were most profitably discussed. I would especially mention Riley's epoch-making dissection of Ingulfus.¹ In the years 1879 and 1880 I published some letters in the *Athenaeum*, in which I ventured to urge some conclusions about the history of the text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* which were then more or less new, and which were, at least in part, accepted by the latest editor of the document, Mr. Plummer. I have been pressed more than once to put on more permanent record the results of these my former and of more recent studies, and I would now venture to offer them to the Archaeological Institute.

The revival of an interest in and a knowledge of Anglo-Saxon after many centuries during which it had been in abeyance, was largely due to John Joscelyn, "an Essex man," as Strype calls him, II, 351. He styled himself "Mr. John Joscelyn," *id.* He was secretary to Archbishop Parker, and in the Parker Correspondence, *Intr. not.*, he is spoken of as "Sir Thomas Josselin's brother, an

¹ *Archaeological Journal*, xix.

antiquary in the archbishop's house who wrote the history *de Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*."

He not only transcribed and collated several MSS. but also composed a Saxon grammar. Among his collations ought specially to be noted those of several MSS. of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. A series of these is described in the title to MS. Cott. Tib. B. iv, 1, in the Cottonian Library, in which we read *inter alia* :

"In eo desiderabantur non ita pridem omnia ab a^o 261 usque ad annum 693 quæ ex historicis Saxonis Monasteriorum ecclesiæ Christi et S. Augustini Cantuariæ, Petroburgens. Aberdoniens. usque ad an 633, feliciter supplevit Johannes Josselinus. Idem vir doctus passim etiam variantes lectionis ex laudatis codicibus, cum notis, in contextu operis et in margine inseruit."¹

A few years later Laurence Noel prepared a dictionary, Saxon and English, and gave the copy to another scholar who was an excellent transcriber, namely, the Kentish antiquary, William Lambard, by whom an accurate copy on paper of the burnt Cottonian MS. Otho, B. xi, exists among Archbishop Ussher's MSS. at Dublin, while a faulty one of Cott. Tib. B. iv, by him, is in the Canterbury Cathedral Library.²

The first attempt to print an Anglo-Saxon MS. was made by Archbishop Parker, doubtless with Joscelyn's assistance. This was Asser's Life of Alfred, which professed to follow the original Latin literatim, but in Saxon characters. The idea of printing the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* apparently first occurred to Gerard Langbaine, Provost of Queen's, as appears from some of his papers now in the Bodleian. When he discovered, however, that Wheloc was engaged in the same venture he gave up his project.³ The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was first actually printed at the end of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, in folio, in the year 1644, by Abraham Wheloc, professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, and he styles the work *Chronologia Anglo-Saxonica, ab an A D I ad ann 1070 cum versione Latina*. Bishop Gibson in the preface to his edition of the *Chronicle* speaks of

¹ Hardy, *Cat. Brit. Hist.*, ii, 30. A transcript of another Cott. MS., Tib. A, vi, now in the Bodleian, and labelled Laud. Misc., 661, was also made by Joscelyn.

² See Hardy, *Cat.*, i, 657.

³ See *Anc. Hist. Eng. and French*, English, 1830, p. 183.

Wheloc as having "*primus omnium praeclarum istud hujus nationis monumentum a blattis ac tineis, vindicavit.*" Wheloc's edition, the *Editio princeps* of the *Chronicle*, is still of considerable use, since it reproduces a MS. which was burnt in "The Cotton fire" of 1731. Wheloc refers to it as the Cotton MS. and it was entered in the old *Cottonian Catalogue* as MS. Otho B. xi. "The three imperfect leaves of this MS. which were saved from the fire are evidence," says Professor Earle, "of the fidelity of Wheloc's edition, and establish his text as a true representative of G; (G being the MS. which in Professor Earle's notation represents the burnt Cotton MS.) Wheloc also collated for his edition a second MS. which he calls the Benet MS.," from "Benet," the old name for C.C.C. Cambridge, to the library of which it was bequeathed by Archbishop Parker. He was also aware of, but did not apparently consult, a third MS. which he calls "*Annales Saxonici Petriburgenses*," collations from which by Joscelyn he had found in the Benet MS. just mentioned. Of Wheloc's Latin translation Earle says:—

"it exhibits mistakes such as might be expected in the first revival of the old English literature."¹

Mr. Plummer says of the same translation

"that it should contain many errors, some of them rather comic, was to be expected; but on the whole it is a courageous and creditable performance."

He gives references to a considerable number of instances where Wheloc's translation is faulty, and remarks that, as might be expected, he chiefly failed in the poetical parts.²

Wheloc, in fact, says of them, "*idioma hic et ad annum 942 et 975 perantiquum et horridum lectoris candorem et diligentiam desiderat.*" Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, which was published in 1691 and 1692, seems to have been the first work of importance in which Wheloc's edition of the *Chronicle* was utilised.

"He frequently quotes the *Annales Petriburgenses* (apparently at first hand) where Wheloc is deficient, and from one of these quotations (1,405) Bishop Nicholson remarks that this Peterborough Codex was

¹ *Parallel Chronicles*, Intr., lxix.

² *Two Saxon Chronicles*, ii, cxxviii, note 5.

never thoroughly compared with any copy hitherto published, and differs from them all."¹

Meanwhile the study of Anglo-Saxon had been greatly facilitated by the publication of Hickes' *Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, published at Oxford in 1689. Hickes also greatly assisted the next editor in his work. The next edition of the *Chronicle* was brought out at Oxford in the year 1692 with the title *Chronicon Saxonicum ex MSS. codicibus nunc primum integrum edidit ac Latinum fecit Edmundus Gibson A.B. à Collegio Reginae, Edmund Gibson*. He was a careful and painstaking scholar and afterwards became bishop of London. He refers to Wheloc's edition in very complimentary terms, but says the *codices* he followed were not complete. They did not in fact carry the story much beyond A.D. 1000, and he accordingly based his edition on what he considered a more complete manuscript, hence his use of the word *integrum* in his title. He says that since Wheloc's edition was published three other manuscripts had turned up, which he proceeds to describe and which he used for his edition, and he prides himself on the fact that the latter was really based on MS. authorities, *Cumque illa est hujus materiae ratio, ut de ulla re prius cogitare oporteat, quam textum omni ex parte integrum ab oculis habeamus; omnem meam curam converti ad Codices Manuscriptas comparandos*.² Of the three new codices used by Gibson two were in the Laud Collection in the Bodleian, and the other, which had been examined and collated by F. Junius, was in the Cottonian Collection. He also gives a careful collation of Wheloc's edition. Both Petrie and Hardy³ state that he actually based his text on Wheloc, which is a mistake. His own text was a reproduction of a MS. presented by Archbishop Laud in 1638 to the Bodleian, formerly numbered E. 89, and now Laud 636, and otherwise known as the Peterborough Book. The second Laudian MS. which he refers to and collated was not an original but a paper transcript made from the Cotton MS. Tib. A. vi. This transcript is also in the Bodleian. It was formerly labelled G. 36 and now Laud Misc. 661. Like the previous

¹ English, *op. cit.*, 185.

³ Cat. B.H., i, 650.

² *Op. cit.*, preface.

MS. this paper copy was among the MSS. presented by Laud. Gibson refers to it as "MS. Cant."¹ Mr. Plummer has identified the handwriting of this paper MS. as that of Joscelyn.²

At the end of this copy of Joscelyn's is a pedigree of the Anglo-Saxon kings which is now contained in a detached leaf and which is numbered in the *Cotton Catalogue* as Tib. A. iii. The same leaf was copied by Junius and is contained in a volume of transcripts by him also in the Bodleian numbered Junius 66, which was also consulted by Gibson, so that the latter had before him two transcripts of this pedigree. Junius expressly says he took his own copy from Tiberius A. iii. This now detached leaf, there can be small doubt, was formerly part, as Wanley first pointed out, of what is generally referred to as MS. B., *i.e.* Tiberius A. vi.³

Lastly, Gibson also used collations and extracts by Junius preserved in the same volume, and taken from the MS. numbered Coll. Dom. A. viii. which Gibson generally quotes as "Cot," and which is now generally referred to as F. Gibson therefore found all the materials for his edition in the Bodleian, nor did he *collate* any original MS. His text was taken from the Laudian or so-called *Peterborough Chronicle*, and his collations were otherwise all taken from paper copies, so that up to this time only two of the MSS. of the *Chronicle* had been directly used in the printed copies. To his edition Gibson appends a Latin translation.

Gibson's edition, as Professor Earle says, "if not quite as perfect as his ambition designed, was a great advance upon Wheloc's and altogether an admirable work."⁴ In several instances, however, as Mr. Plummer points out, he has wrong readings;⁵ but these are not frequent, and he makes ample amends by his most engaging modesty. He never tries to gloss over words or phrases which he does not understand, *quid significet hoc vocabulum omnino nescio; quis sit sensus me omnino latet; harum vocum significationem ignoro; vocis significatis mihi plane incognita; quae sit hujus vocabuli significatio videant alii*; are some of his confessions; again he says in his preface, *quae-*

¹ Hardy's *Catalogue*, i, 656.

² See Plummer, *A.S. Chr.*, II, cxxx,

5.

³ See Thorpe, *op. cit.*, i, pref., xx and

xxxi; Plummer, *op. cit.*, II, intr., xxix, note 1, cxxx, note 5.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, lxx.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, II, cxxx, note.

dam Chronici loca in quibus meum inscitiam libere profiteor. Mr. Plummer has also collected a number of his mistranslations, and he says particularly that his translation of the song of Brunaburh is almost as hopeless as that of Wheloc.¹ In 1696-9 Nicholson published his "Historical Library," in which, while speaking in complimentary terms of Gibson's edition of the *Chronicle*, he calls attention to the fact that he had failed to use several accessible MSS.

We have to pass on a long time before we again meet with any attempt to make the *Chronicle* more useful to students. The next century was the one, it will be remembered, in which Hume described the struggles and deeds of the Anglo-Saxons as of little more interest than the fights of kites and crows. In 1819 there was published at Norwich, "unencumbered with either text or notes," a volume in which part of the *Chronicle* was translated very fairly and with considerable literary skill and spirit by Miss Gurney. It was published anonymously with the title, "*A literal translation of the Saxon Chronicle*, by a Lady." In the preface it is said that the authoress had only access to the printed texts, and that she had not completed it because she understood that the Rev. Mr. Ingram was engaged on the work. Ingram says that a similar translation by Gough existed in the Bodleian, but Mr. Plummer was not able to trace it.² These were, however, mere translations and did nothing for the text or its elucidation. Ingram's edition was published in 1823. Dr. J. Ingram, B.D., had been Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford and afterwards Master of Trinity College there. While duly praising Gibson's edition and expressing wonder that such a work should have been produced when the bishop was only twenty-three years old, he complains in his preface that the *Chronicle* had not up to this time been printed entire and from the collation of all the MSS. In his edition he in fact used all the materials then known, namely, the four original copies of the *Chronicle* in the *Cotton Library*, that in C.C.C. Cambridge and the so-called *Peterborough Chronicle* in the Bodleian, and he was the first to collate the two important MSS. Cott. Tib. B. i and Cott. Tib. B. iv. He also printed the single

¹ Plummer, *id.*, cxxix and xxx, note.

² *Id.*, II, Int. cccxxxiii note.

leaf previously referred to and known as Tib. A. iii. and collated the various paper transcripts remaining in London and Oxford together with Wheloc's text of the burnt Cotton MS. So that in regard to the presentation of the materials as then known his edition was complete. He appends a translation in English. In his preface he gives the following synopsis of the MSS.

MSS.	Trans.	Description.	Place of Custody.	Age.
I.		Ben., The Benet MS.	C.C.C.C.'s XI. MSS. Parker	A.D. 891-1070.
II.		C.T. A. III.	B.M., Cot. Tib. A. III. ..	A.D. 977.
	1	Jun. 66, II.	Junian MSS., Bodleian ..	Transcribed from the preceding by Junius.
III.		C.T. A. VI.	B.M., Cot. Tib. A. VI. ..	A.D. 977.
	2	Cant. of Gibson ..	Bodleian, Laud G. 36 ..	Transcript of the preceding and No. II.
IV.		C. Otho, B. XI. ..	<i>Olim</i> Cot. Lib. Lost. ..	A.D. 1001.
	3	Cott. of Wheloc ..	? the same as the preceding.	A.D. 1001.
	4	Dublin Transcript ..	Dublin Library. E. 5, 15..	Transcribed by Lambard from No. IV.
V.		C.T. B. I. <i>Abingdon Chronicle.</i>	B.M. Cot. Tib. B. I. ..	Ends imperfectly in 1066.
VI.		C.T. B. IV. <i>Worcester Chronicle.</i>	B.M. Cot. Tib. B. IV. ..	Ends abruptly in 1080.
VII.		Petrob. <i>Peterborough Chronicle.</i>	<i>Olim</i> Abb. Petrob. Supposed to be lost.	Collated with the preceding by Joscelyn to 1080.
VIII.		Laud of Gibson ..	Bodl. Laud E. 80 ..	Ends imperfectly in 1154.
IX.		C. Domit. A. VIII. ..	B.M. Cot. Dom. A. VIII.	Ends imperfectly in 1058.
	5	Cot. of Gibson ..	Junian Books. Bodleian ..	A collation of the preceding by Junius to 1057.

This table seems correct except in making VII and VIII different whereas they were the same, and in treating Wheloc's text as perhaps taken from a transcript instead of, as was clearly the case, from the original MS. of Cot. Otho B. xi. The press marks of one or two of the MSS. have been altered since Ingram wrote. Ingram was the first to adequately appreciate the Latin Chronicle of Ethelward, whom he styles "the invaluable but neglected Etheluard." He also gives

references to Florence of Worcester, the so-called Asser, Simeon of Durham and other early Latin Chronicles. In fact, in regard to the *text* of the *Chronicle* not much has been done since Ingram's presentation of the MS. evidence, except minute corrections due to more careful collation. Where it errs is in the method of editing, which followed the pernicious habit then in vogue of giving us in the text not the continuous reading of some particular MS., but the conflate readings derived from the comparison of various texts, from which the editor selected what he deemed the most reputable version. Mr. Plummer has given some examples of these unfortunate conflate readings,¹ and of some of Ingram's faulty translations, in which he was sometimes misled by transliterating rather than translating, and taking a word which sounds like the original as if it were a real translation, while he often uses quite modern terms with a modern connotation to represent ancient ones with only a distant echo in the meaning. He further modernizes the names, thus converting Geraint into Grant,² Beocca into Becke, etc.³ These are, however, small blemishes. Ingram's was, in fact, the first scientific edition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, a great advance on anything that had been previously done, and a most creditable performance.

We next meet with a remarkable book whose real merits have been disguised by some occasional fantastic phrases and theories, but which is full of ingenious painstaking and learned suggestion. Its value has been altogether unjustly minimized by Professor Earle, while it has been virtually ignored by Mr. Plummer. It was published anonymously with the title, *Ancient History English and French exemplified in a regular dissection of the "Saxon Chronicle,"* etc., 1830. Its reputed author was Henry Searle English. In this work the author endeavours with a great deal of acumen, and as we shall see with considerable success, to trace the actual authorship of various portions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. *Inter alia* he was, I believe, the first to suggest what Mr. Plummer very properly makes a great

¹ *Op. cit.*, II, cxxxiii, note 4.

² *Id.*, 61.

³ *Id.*, 141.

point of, namely, that the various copies of the *Chronicle* should not be treated as mere forms of a substantive whole, but as separate documents with a separate origin and history, and one of the claims he makes in his book is contained in the sentence :

"I have separated and reduced to order the awkward mass of Chronicles published as the *Saxon Chronicle*."¹

Mr. English gives an excellent account of the printed editions of the *Chronicle* up to the time he wrote.² I shall frequently have to refer to him in what follows. In 1847, Dr. Giles, who did so much to popularize and make available the sources of English history, published a translation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. It is professedly based on previous writers and did nothing for the critical history of the text or its contents. In 1848 there appeared the first and only volume of the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* in which Petrie professed to collect the materials for the history of England up to the Norman Conquest. In this work the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as far as the year 1066 is duly printed with an English translation by its side. The person mainly responsible for it was Mr. Richard Price, who died in 1833. This edition was notable for some matters. In the first place in it the text was primarily based on the Parker MS. at C.C.C. Cambridge which Mr. Price, its editor, appears to have thought the oldest and best in existence (and which he refers to as MS. A.), in both of which conclusions he was mistaken as we shall see further on; he nevertheless gave this very imperfect MS. a status and reputation which it maintained for many years during which it was appealed to as the ultimate guide to the text. Secondly, he refers to the MSS. by a new notation which has largely held its ground and which I will now condense.

MS. A is the C.C.C. MS. CLXXIII.

MS. B „ the Cottonian MS. Tiberius A vi.

MS. C „ „ „ „ Tiberius B. i.

MS. D „ „ „ „ Tiberius B. iv.

MS. E „ Bodleian MS. Laud 636 formerly E. 80.

MS. F „ Cottonian MS. Domitian A. VIII, 2.

MS. G „ „ „ Otho B. xi, 2.

¹ *Op. cit.*, 458.

² 180-196.

Thirdly, as it was Dr. Petrie's plan not to print anything beyond the year 1066 it is obvious that all the contents of those copies of the *Chronicle* dealing with events after that year are excluded. The text of this edition, as I have said, is taken from the C.C.C. Cambridge MS. as its basis. Slight additions from other sources are placed in brackets in the text. Where this could not be conveniently done from their length or otherwise, the variations form a second text underneath the first one and separated from it by a line. In the notes below a careful collation is given of all the variants in the MSS., including Wheloc's text of the burnt MS. Among these almost entirely verbal notes and separated from their place in the text are a number of Latin entries taken from the Peterborough MS.

The text was professedly treated as an eclectic one, however; thus in the preface we read: "In constructing the text Mr. Petrie endeavoured, where practicable, to render it as full as possible, by incorporating all the additional facts from the several copies, without alluding to their differences of style or dialect, as a philological work was not the object of the collection." Mr. Plummer says of the edition: "There is still too much conflation, and when A fails there seems to be no fixed principle as to what shall be placed above the line and what below. In some cases part of an annal from a MS. is placed above the line, and another part of the same annal from the same MS. is placed below 876, 1022-1038."¹

The translation (in English) was a great improvement on that of Ingram, but mistakes still occur, some of which have been pointed out by Mr. Plummer.² Many errors in this translation, however, had already been corrected by the Rev. J. Stevenson in his translation of the *Chronicle* in the series of the *Church Historians of England*, which, however, also contains some errors.³ In 1861, there appeared another edition of the *Chronicle* which Professor Earle has described as "one of the greatest boons that could have been conferred on the Anglo-Saxon scholar." It occurs in two volumes, one containing the text and the other the translation, and was

¹ *Op. cit.*, II, cxxxiv.

² *Id.*, note 4.

³ *Id.*, cxxxiv, 5, and cxxxv, 1.

published among the Chronicles and Memorials issued under the authority of the Master of the Rolls, and was edited by Mr. Benjamin Thorpe. Its text, which was carefully edited from the originals, is printed in six parallel columns, each of the six extant MSS. being given a column to itself. Variants from the extant fragments of the burnt Cotton MS. are given in the notes, but there is no collation of Wheloc's printed text which represents that MS. so well. The single leaf Tib. A, iii, is also given.¹ Some of the late insertions in the so-called Peterborough MS. are also transferred to the notes, but, as we shall see, this has not been done uniformly and is a pitfall rather than a help to the unwary. Similarly, Thorpe has treated most of the Latin text of MS. F, and of almost all the Latin entries in E, quite arbitrarily and has omitted them. As Mr. Plummer says, Dr. Pauli has called special attention to the value of the Latin text of F. Mr. Earle complains that he did not leave the annals of B undated where they are undated in the MS., but that he added dates of his own, and Mr. Plummer further, (1) complains of Thorpe's critical conflation of the Mercian register with the main Chronicle; (2) the liberties taken with the arrangement of the text: thus, the distributing of the Annal of 910 E over several years, and the transposing of the notice of the comet from the beginning to the end of 905 D. In 1004 D he has inserted a sentence which has been omitted by *homoioteleuton*. In 343 E, he has an entry which does not occur in that MS. but in F. (3) Another misleading feature of the book is the unauthorized and not very successful attempts at emendation, *ex. gr.* scipan for sciran in 1097; angeow for the corrupt oneweow in 1110; (4) the dislocation of the parallelism in some of the later parts of the *Chronicle* 1044–1052, just when (owing to defective chronology, divergence in the beginning of the year, etc.) it was most necessary to bring out the parallelism correctly.² Plummer (in note 6) also gives a few instances of Thorpe's mis-translations, and adds that he is satisfied he made his translation not from his own text but from that in the M. H. B.³ Thorpe's

¹ See vol. i, 232 and 233.

³ *Id.*, cxxxvi, 7.

² Plummer, II, cxxxv and notes.

edition, however, was an admirable one, and is still indispensable to the student.

In 1865, Mr. Earle, Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford, published a very notable work entitled "*Two of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles parallel*, etc." The text of the book had been in type for eight years when published, so that it was independent of Thorpe's and had not the advantage of his work or materials. The edition contains an admirable introduction, in which the history of the MSS. is carefully analysed. The interpolations of a glossator of the twelfth century in MS. A are printed in smaller type and can be more easily disconnected. Professor Earle's plan did not include a translation, but in the notes he brought a wide linguistic and historical knowledge to the elucidation of the *Chronicle*, and cleared up many passages hitherto obscure. What greatly affects the value of the edition, however, was the choice of one of the two parallel MSS. upon which the text is based. In regard to the *Peterborough Chronicle* there is nothing to be said, but as to the so-called MS. A, the C.C.C. Manuscript, of which Professor Earle says in its preface, "It has every title to rank first in the list of Saxon Chronicles," it is a great pity that it should have retained this status, which it first acquired in Prior's edition in the M. H. B., when the letter A was attached to it. We now know that instead of being the best it is the most worthless of the MSS.

Mr. Earle's edition was followed in 1892 and 1899 by that of Professor Plummer, which in regard to the text is a re-edition of Professor Earle's parallel edition of A and E, with a very careful re-collation of all the other MS. materials. It has been deservedly treated by scholars as the definite text. It is accompanied by a rich, learned, and admirable mass of notes, exegetical, critical, and historical, the result of a great deal of patient labour, and also of instinctive sound sense, which is better. It is a great pity, however, that when Mr. Plummer brought out his edition of the *Chronicle*, which professes on its title page to be only a new edition of Professor Earle's work (although it is really largely re-written, and a vast improvement upon it), he should have felt himself bound to follow him in the selection of MS. A as the

real basis of his text. This was excusable in 1865 when Mr. Earle's book was published, but a good deal had been written on the subject between 1865 and 1892.

On September 8th, and September 20th, 1879, I published two long letters in the *Athenæum*, in which I examined in very considerable detail the question of the origin and value of Codex A of the *Chronicle*, and was, I believe, the first to show its worthless character. What I then said received but scanty notice from Mr. Plummer. Similar conclusions were reached later by Dr. Grubitz in an essay entitled "*Kritische Untersuchung über die Angelsächsischen Annalen bis zum Jahre 893*," in which he arrived at the conclusion that the so-called MS. A is not an original contemporary document, but a copy of a comparatively late date made by several scribes.¹ Mr. Plummer himself, notwithstanding that he makes the MS. the prime text in his book, calls it "a copy of a copy," and it is a pity that in preparing his almost ideal edition he should have felt himself bound to follow Mr. Earle in giving so much importance to such a worthless text. It is to be hoped that in a future edition MS. A will be displaced from its present proud position in Mr. Plummer's work and be used by him only for collation. Mr. Plummer has also, I think, in his edition altered Price's nomenclature of the MSS. unnecessarily and rather increased difficulties. Price called the burnt Cotton MS. G. It is true the text of G and of A are much alike, although not identical, and there has been controversy as to which was the mother of the other. This makes it ambiguous to change the letter G to a kind of Gothic A, as Mr. Plummer has done, and thus to have two MSS. both represented by the initial letter of the alphabet. It disguises several matters of importance, including the date of the original composition of the *Chronicle*, when the two MSS. in question are given titles so like each other and so apt to be confused. If we are to have a notation based on capital letters, I prefer Price's.

To Price's list of MSS. Mr. Plummer has added two others. One, which he labels H, was discovered by

¹ *Op. cit.*, 6-9.

Dr. Zupitza.¹ It consists of a single leaf in the Cott. MS., Dom. A, ix. The other, which he labels I, is in the Cott. MS. Caligula A, xv, fol. 132, and consists of a Paschal table with marginal annals in Saxon and Latin, and was published by Liebermann in his *Ungedruckte Ang.-Norm. Geschichtsquellen*, 1-8.

This completes the notice of the printed material available for the study of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in the shape of editions of its MSS. and their illustration, and we will now turn to the MSS. themselves.

It is perfectly plain from many facts which will appear as we proceed that the MSS. of the *Chronicle* which we possess are the mere salvage from the large number of others which once existed. Most of the lost books have doubtless been destroyed by fire, that terrible enemy of the great monasteries, but others have also disappeared. Largely from the fact that as they were written in an unknown writing and language, no one took much interest in them, and they were probably used up as palimpsests or for the more homely purposes to which parchment can be turned. By a process of careful induction we can recover definite proofs of the former existence of other texts of the *Chronicle*, and in some cases can also recover their contents. So far as we know, seven complete MSS. of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* survived from the middle ages and escaped the destruction of books which followed the dissolution of the monasteries; six of these still exist intact, the seventh was destroyed in the disastrous fire which took place in the binding room of the British Museum in 1731, when so many treasures in the Cottonian Library were burnt. Only three leaves and a few charred fragments of it remain, partly intact, but its contents are most fortunately preserved in Wheloc's edition, which, as we have seen, was a very accurate copy of this MS., so that *the contents* of all the MSS. of the *Chronicle* known to have been intact at the Reformation are available for study. In addition we have the single leaf discovered by Dr. Zupitza which contains annals of the years 1113 and 1114, quite distinct in contents from the only other copy of the *Chronicle* reaching to so late a

¹ Published by him in *Anglia*, i, 195-197.

date, namely, MS. E, and which must have formed part of another copy. When this copy disappeared we do not know.

I propose to subject these MSS. and their contents in turn to a careful analysis, and thus to try and ascertain what they have to tell us about the origin and history of the document, and to begin with the MS. which comes down to the latest date, namely, that generally quoted as the *Peterborough Chronicle* (MS. E. in Price's notation). The text is preserved in one copy only, and there is no evidence that there was ever any other.

This MS. has on its first page the inscription "Liber Guil. Laud Archiep. Cant. et Cancellar. Universit. Oxon 1638," and it was presented by Laud with his other MSS. to the Bodleian Library, where it was formerly numbered E 80, and is now labelled Laud 636 E. The date on its first page just mentioned was probably that of its acquisition by Laud. Wanley, p. 65, suggests that certain underlinings in it in red were the work of the archbishop. There is a paper transcript of it also in the Bodleian which bears the same date of 1638. It is numbered Laud MSS. 661.

It had almost certainly previously belonged to Lisle, who died in 1637, and on whose death it doubtless passed to the archbishop. When in Lisle's possession he inserted a few notes on the margins and on interleaved large folio-paper leaves. These chiefly consist of collations of the Corpus MS. which he calls "Benet M., vol. 269," down to 918, after which he calls it "MS. Cant." or "Canterbury Book."¹ Mr. Plummer says that on the blank paper leaves at the end Lisle has inserted from A the annals 894-924, 937, 941, 962, 973, 975, and a pedigree of Woden from 855 B. He remarks that Lisle found the poetry very difficult, and that he added a quaint notice to the annal of 937, viz., "This is mysticall and written in a poeticall vaine obscurity of purpose to avoide the danger of those tymes and needes decyphring." Of 941 he writes: "This also mysticall"; and of 975: "This also."

Lisle had probably obtained the MS. from Peterborough in 1634. While there, it had been used by Joscelyn for his glosses in MS. B. iv, and Plummer suggests that:

¹ See Hardy, *Cat.*, i, 658.

"Some notes in earlier hands occur here and there; one at 705 may be by Joscelyn; another at 893 refers to R. Talbot and may be by him."¹ Five leaves, ff. 86-90, are of larger size, probably having escaped the shears of the binder, because on their margin was written a brief French chronicle from Brutus to Edward the First. In regard to its termination I will add a few words by Professor Earle. He says:

"The manuscript of this *Chronicle* [E.] has been described by Mr. Hardy as ending in a mutilated state; and Wanley seems to convey the same idea by saying *abrupte desinit codex*. Certainly the manuscript gives this impression at first sight; indeed it requires a minute and patient examination to discover the fact that there is no mutilation. The last page appears to have been long exposed to accidents without a cover, and it has been so rubbed that its contents are but partially and faintly legible . . . but it will be seen by the text presented here, that it has been nearly all made out, and that the last clause was a pious commendation of the new Abbot, and that it terminates formally with a triangular punctuation."²

The abbot in question was Abbot Waterville, who succeeded in the spring of 1155. It is quite plain, therefore, that the MS. is intact, and that no part of it was written later than 1155.

The regular termination of the concluding sentence and the presence of the three marks make it clear that the MS. is complete, and Mr. Plummer's doubts based on a missing leaf at the end of the volume are most easily met by the disappearance of a blank leaf.³

It clearly once belonged to Peterborough Abbey, and, as we shall see, contains ample evidence of its origin, and notably the insertion in it at various points of a series of local references to that abbey not contained in other MSS. of the *Chronicle*, and it was doubtless the MS. known to Joscelyn and Wheloc as the Peterborough Book or the *Annales Saxonice Petriburgenses*. Thorpe gives a

¹ Plummer, II, xxxiv.

² *Two of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles parallel*, intr., i.

³ There is a curious circumstance about the earlier references to this MS. which has been overlooked by its later editors, but which was noticed by Mr. English. Joscelyn, who put a good many marginalia in the MS. Tiberius B. iv, from the *Peterborough Chronicle*, inserted in the blank leaves of that

MS. the Annals from 1121-1131, but for some reason or other excluded those from 1132 to the end of MS. E, whence Mr. English inferred that Joscelyn's *Pet. Chr.* was not MS. E. I may add that in Wanley's Catalogue of the Saxon MSS. in Hickes' *Thesaurus* he describes MS. E. which he calls Laud 80, as terminating in the year 1144, a mistake which is almost incredible in so careful a writer.

facsimile of its first page, on Plate V. It tells the story from the Incarnation to the year 1154, and is obviously written in one hand, down to the close of the year 1121. After this there are breaks in the handwriting, at the end of 1122, of 1123, in the middle of 1126 and lastly at the end of 1131. It is clear therefore that no part of this MS. as it stands was written earlier than 1122, and that down to that date it in no wise answers to a series of annals written down year by year as the events happened, but that it was copied out continuously by a scribe from some other document or documents, and that he added some interpolations of his own.

Let us now turn shortly to this first section of the *Chronicle* ending with the annal 1121. In the first place, then, it differs entirely from every other copy of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in one very important particular, namely, in that instead of being composed in one uniform type of Anglo-Saxon speech, or in a type which gradually changes as time affected the language, it is written in two very sharply contrasted forms of the language, whose divergence from each other has been remarked upon by every editor of the document and which is in fact most patent and palpable. Secondly, what is singular and striking is that these two sharply contrasted forms of speech are not found separated into two entirely distinct sections of the narrative as if successively copied by a scribe from two documents with different sources, but are mixed up with each other; sections and paragraphs of the one being inserted as boulders, in the middle of the other, which forms a more or less continuous matrix in which they are enclosed.

Thirdly, it is plain and has been also emphasized by various writers, that the language and style of these inserted boulders and fragments agrees with that of the sections of the *Chronicle* which were written later than 1122, and whose language, therefore, whatever its origin, is a dialect of the twelfth century. A quotation from an excellent judge of such an issue, namely, Professor Earle, sums up what is virtually a universal opinion. He says:

“The insertions on the one hand, and the first continuator of the work on the other, echo the same sound, and eventually determine each other's date. Hence we know that the change of handwriting at 1121 is

no delusive token, that the penman brought his history close up to the time of writing, and that the insertions now before us belong definitely to the same literary effort which produced not merely this edition, but even this particular MS. of the *Chronicle*."

Earle then proceeds to point out the particular changes in the language upon which he bases his opinion.

Meyer, who is the last scholar who has critically examined the language in which the insertions are written, says definitely of them, *Sprachlich stehen sie indes im Ganzen auf derselben Stufe. Auch sind sie wohl ungefähr zu derselben Zeit abgefasst, nämlich 1117–1132.* We must now analyse each of them in turn.

The first occurs at the end of the annal of 654. It tells us how,

"In the time of Peada, King of Mercia, he and Oswiu, the brother of King Oswald, came together and agreed that they would rear a monastery to the glory of Christ and the honour of St. Peter, and they did so and gave it the name of Medeshamstede; because there is a well there which is called 'Medes wael,' and they then began the foundation, and wrought thereon and then committed it to a monk named Saxulf. He was greatly God's friend, and all the people loved him, and he was high-born and rich. He is now much richer with Christ. But the King Peada reigned no long while, for he was betrayed by his own queen at Eastertide."¹

The reference in the last clause to Peada was doubtless taken from Bede iii, 24, and was probably abstracted by the compiler. The rest of the annal came from the document referred to in the next entry. Mr. Earle speaks of this annal as the first of *two instalments* of a monograph on the abbey of Peterborough which is subsequently continued in parts, under the proper dates, and says of it, "With this digression we drop suddenly into a lower stage of the language. The same style recurs only with the continuations of the same subject, until towards the close of the first handwriting, A.D. 1121."² The reference to Saxulf being dead when it was written shows that it could not have been put down until at least the year 692, when that ecclesiastic, who had been made Bishop of Lichfield, died, and it is clear in fact that this

¹ *A.S.C.*, ed. Thorpe, ii, 24, 5.

² *Op. cit.*, 28, note.

annal and the next one to be cited form two instalments of one story about the Abbey of Peterborough which was subsequently continued in parts.

The second insertion is appended to the year 656. In this annal, after again reporting the death of Peada and the succession of his brother Wulfere as in the other Chronicles, the Peterborough MS. has a long paragraph rhetorically reciting what had been said in the previously quoted passage, and stating further how Wulfere for the love of his pledge-brother Oswiu and the abbot Saxulf, and by the counsel of his brothers Ethelred and Meriuald, and of his sisters Kyneburh and Kyneswith and the archbishop Deusdedit, and of all his witan who were in his kingdom, determined to dignify and honour the new foundation. He summoned Saxulf, and promised to find him ample gold and silver, lands and possessions, and bade his people work diligently at the building. After a few years the monastery was ready, and the king summoned a large gathering to its consecration which took place in the presence of himself, his brother Ethelred and his sisters Kyneburh and Kyneswith and Deusdedit the archbishop, and Ithamar, bishop of London, and Wini, bishop of London, and Jaruman, the bishop of the Mercians, and Bishop Tuda (of Lindisfarne) and Wilfrith the priest who was afterwards bishop, and all the thanes of his kingdom, and the monastery was consecrated in the name of St. Peter, St. Paul and St. Andrew, and the king stood at the high altar and recited the deed of gift of the possessions he made over to the abbey and he freed it from all taxes and from all jurisdiction, save that of Rome alone, and Saxulf begged the king in addition for the island called Ancarig (? Thorney island), where they might build another monastery to St. Mary and where some of his monks might live as anchorites. Then follow the names of the witnesses to the document which was professedly dated in the year 664, the seventh year of Wulfere and ninth of Deusdedit as archbishop.

After reciting this document the annal proceeds :

“When this thing was done the king sent to Rome to Pope Vitalianus to ask him to sanction by his writ what had been done.”

Then follows an epitome of the pope's writ, followed by the phrase : "Thus was the monastery at Medeshamstede begun, which has since been called Burh." After this we are told came another archbishop of Canterbury named Theodorus, who held a synod with his bishops and clergy, at which Winfrith, bishop of the Mercians, was deposed, and Saxulf, the abbot, was chosen bishop, and Cuthbald, a monk of the same monastery, was chosen abbot. This synod was held in the year 673.

There is therefore no disguise in regard to this particular entry having been an interpolation, for although entered under the year 656, it sets out a document which it dates 664 and mentions a synod which it dates 673. This is not all, it tells us that Medeshamstede had since been called Burh. On turning to a much later annal in the same MS., namely, that for 963, we are expressly told that it was only in the abbacy of Abbot Kenulf, 992-1005, that the change of name took place, when the place was in fact made into a *burh* by being surrounded with walls. It is perfectly clear, therefore, that the two annals of 654 and 656 which are parts of the same narrative were not only not inserted until after the year 992, but they could not have been composed until after that year. There is another piece of evidence which points the same moral, and that is the use in this particular annal of the phrase *æfter his eorlas*. There were no eorlas in England at that date, the word *eorl* or *iarl* was of Danish origin and could not have been used by an English writer until after the Danish invasions. These facts make it plain that apart altogether from the form of the language in which the two annals are written, which is that of the twelfth century, their contents point unmistakeably to their being late insertions in an existing narrative.

We are further in a position not only to claim quite a late date for the composition and insertion of the annals of 654 and 656, but we can also trace them to their fountain sources. The account of the foundation of the monastery of Medeshamstede in those annals was taken from a long Latin charter professing to be a grant from Wulfere, king of the Mercians and Southern Angles, to the abbey of Medeshamstede of

certain lands and privileges, which is dated in 654 and is preserved in two old copies, one in the Cottonian MS., Augustus II., 5, and another one in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough. The charter is printed from the former copy by Kemble, C.D. number 9841, and by Birch, No. 22. From this same charter was also derived the long insertion in the annal of 656 beginning with the words, "In his time the Abbacy of Medeshamstede waxed very rich." Part of the annal is put in narrative form, and part of it is a recital of the operative parts of the Latin charter just referred to in a curtailed shape and running on all fours with it down to the end of the clause in which the dating of Wulfere's charter is related. There cannot be any doubt, as Mr. Plummer agrees, that the two insertions of 654 and 656 down to the dating clause I have mentioned are merely a short paraphrase and epitome of the altered Latin charter of Wulfere.

The witnesses are the same and qualified by the same phrases, the *patres* of the Latin is translated *eorls* in the Saxon, and the latter mentions thanes as assenting who are also included in the Latin. Wulfere in both the Latin and Saxon claims to carry out the work from love for his brother Peada and *his confrater* (translated wed-brodur) Oswiu. The parcels are described at very much greater length and with a largely increased number of names in the Latin original. A considerable series of names is left out in the Saxon, while other detached blocks of them are abstracted. Those which occur in both documents occur precisely in the same order and are written the same way. The same contraction of the text is further observable in the long and elaborate description of the privileges and exemptions which the king is supposed to grant, which include some of those which are hardest to believe, such as exemption from episcopal jurisdiction in the seventh century. The only variant, a curious one, is that while in the Latin charter, as printed by Kemble and Birch, the king professes to make his grant out of love *inter alios* for his brother (in the Saxon *germanus*) Peada and his *confrator et coregnator* Oswiu, in the Saxon copy in the *Chronicle* the grant is made out of love for his brothers

Ethelred and *Meriwald*, the latter of whom is not named, however, among the witnesses, while the name of Meriwald does not occur in the standard edition of the Charter as given by Birch, No. 22. It does, however, occur in what was perhaps a Latin copy of the Saxon text in the *Chronicle* printed by Birch, 22A.

Hugo Candidus, the historian of Peterborough, also follows with some closeness the Latin rather than the Saxon edition of the charter in question in his account of the foundation of the abbey and of the benefactions of King Wulfere (see Sparke, 3-8.)

Let us now turn to the Latin charter. It is universally accepted as a forgery. Thus Haddan and Stubbs speak of it as "the spurious act of Wulfhere," and its date is clearly inconsistent with the names of the attesting witnesses. Haddan and Stubbs say that Ithamar of Rochester died shortly after 655.¹ Plummer says he was certainly dead before 664. Damion, his successor, must have died before Deusdedit, *i.e.*, before 14th July, A.D. 664, while Tuda was not bishop till after the Whitby Conference in A.D. 664 and died in the course of the same year. Wini was bishop of Winchester in A.D. 664,² and did not become bishop of London until A.D. 666,³ yet he is qualified as bishop of London among the attesting witnesses to this charter.

Not only so, but it is quite plain that the language and terminology of this Latin charter are quite inconsistent with its having been composed much earlier than the twelfth century. I will content myself with quoting one conclusive clause.

"Praecipimus etiam quod praedictum monasterium et dominia sua sint libera et quieta ab omni dominacione et exactione, Comitum, Baronum, Vicecomitum et Ministrorum suorum."

Assuredly these titles are quite impossible in a genuine charter of the seventh century or in any charter before the Norman Conquest. This also puts out of court Mr. Plummer's suggestion that the charter was a forgery of the time of Edgar, and makes it clear that it was in fact a concoction of the twelfth century as Haddan and Stubbs concluded. Among the

¹ Bede, iii, 20, and Wharton. *A.S.I.*
30.

² Bede, iii, 28.

³ *Flor. Wig.*, see H. and S., *loc. cit.*

witnesses to the Latin charter and also in its Saxon translation is Eobba, who is said to have converted the Isle of Wight. This, as Mr. Plummer says, is a misunderstanding of Bede, H.E. iv, 13, which refers to Sussex. The Isle of Wight was not converted till much later. He adds, "the rash statement here is due to the forger of the Latin charter."

Let us now revert to the annal of 656. After reciting the facts of Wulfere's charter, the annal, as we have seen, refers to a ratification of the royal grant and its privileges by Pope Vitalian. If a Latin original of this part of the document once existed it is no longer extant, but we may be satisfied that whether it ever existed or not, the reference to Vitalian's acts in the *Chronicle* were the handiwork of the twelfth century, and that the story it testifies to is quite unreliable. Haddan and Stubbs call it "a spurious rescript of Vitalian" (*Councils*, etc., iii, 100) and the terms in which the document is drawn up completely justify the statement. That a Pope at any time, least of all in the seventh century, should issue a document phrased as follows is incredible :

"I, Pope Vitalian, grant to the King Wulfere, and Archbishop Deusdedit, and Abbot Saxulf, all the things which ye desire. And I forbid that either king or any man have any authority, save only the abbot, and that he obey any man save the Pope at Rome and the Archbishop of Canterbury. If anyone break this in any thing, may St. Peter with his sword destroy him ; if any one observe it, may St. Peter with the keys of heaven undo for him the kingdom of heaven."

In regard to one of the wide and impossible exemptions here referred to Mr. Plummer says :

"In reserving the rights of the archbishop of Canterbury the forger must have stood astounded at his own moderation."¹

It is curious that no reference to the confirmation of Wulfere's grant by Pope Vitalian is mentioned in Hugo Candidus, while it is ominous that William of Malmesbury prints an alleged letter of the same pope to Archbishop Theodore giving supremacy to Canterbury over all England, and dated in 668, which Haddan and Stubbs describe as "of questionable authority."²

The final clause of the annal of 656 refers to the appointment of Archbishop Theodore and the Synod of

¹ *Op. cit.*, ii, 27.

² *Op. cit.*, iii, 116.

Hereford (and was apparently taken from Bede, H.E., iv, 5). Hence it is plain that the bald fact that Saxulf was the founder of Medeshamstede Abbey, which is also mentioned by Bede, is all we can learn of the foundation of the abbey from these insertions.

We will now turn to the third insertion, which is dated in 675. It first describes how Aethelred, king of Mercia, sent Wilfred to Rome to Pope Agatho to tell him how his brothers Peada and Wulfhere had built the monastery at Medeshamstede and freed it against king and bishop, and asking him to give his sanction to what had been done. Agatho complied with the request, and the *Chronicle* gives what purport to be the terms of his writ. Here again "the Latin original" of the document, as Mr. Thorpe calls it, fortunately exists.¹ The document professes to cite the terms of Pope Agatho's decree, and it is one of the most curious ones known.

In the Saxon version the Pope begins by greeting King Aethelred, and Archbishop Theodore, and Bishop Saxulf and Abbot Cuthbald, and he ordains that neither king nor bishop, nor earl, nor any man have any claim or tribute, geld, or military or other service from the abbey, and that no shirebishop be so bold as to perform any ordination or consecration within the abbey unless requested by the abbot, nor claim there for proxies or synodals, or for any kind of thing, and further that the abbot should be deemed the pope's legate for the whole island, and that on a vacancy, whoever the monks should choose for their abbot should be consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury. The Pope further decreed that if any man had made a vow to go to Rome, which he should not be able to carry out because of sickness or the Lord's need of him, or poverty, that he might go to Medeshamstede and have the sacred forgiveness of Christ and St. Peter, and of the abbot and monks, as if he had gone to Rome, and he ordered Theodore to summon a synod where these privileges could be confirmed while he told Bishop Saxulf (who had desired the minster to be free) that he forbade him and all the bishops his successors to press any claim on the abbey save what the

¹ See Birch, number 48, ii, page 74, from the register of documents at Peterborough. Haddan and Stubbs, iii, 153.

abbot should be willing to grant, and he concluded with the hope that whosoever should break the decree should "be excommunicated and thrust down with Judas and with all the devils in hell."

We are next told that the writ of the Pope was sent to England by Wilfred, archbishop of York, in the year A.D. 680 (that is, five years later than the year under which the statement appears in the *Chronicle*). The king thereupon ordered Archbishop Theodore to summon a "Witan" at Heatfield (*i.e.* Hatfield), when he caused the writ to be read, and all assented to and confirmed it. The king then confirmed all the gifts made to the abbey by his brothers Peada and Wulfere, and his sisters Kyneburh and Kynesvith, and added fresh gifts of land of his own. The two archbishops and Bishop Saxulf in confirming the same excommunicated and cursed those who should break any part thereof.

This Saxon charter, like that previously quoted, proves its late date by the use of the word *eorl*, which was not introduced here until the Danish invasions, while its language further proves it to be a product of the twelfth century, and not only a product but a concoction of that date. Mr. Plummer says of it: "It is hardly necessary to call attention to the flagrant character of the forgery and the extravagant nature of the privileges claimed." Again he says: "The spurious Latin charter on which this insertion is based is in K.C.D., No. 990, Birch 48. It differs somewhat from the present A.S. version, but the differences are not on the side of greater modesty."¹ The real character of the document was long ago well analysed by Jeremy Collier in his *Ecclesiastical History*, i, 107. He thus enumerates his reasons for treating the grant as false:

"First, *its exorbitant extent*, for the Abbot of Medeshamstead is thereby discharged from the jurisdiction of his *diocesan* and even of a *synod*; and made the pope's legate all over England. Secondly, *because it is affirmed to have been brought over by Archbishop Wilfred, and produced and subscribed by him at the Council of Hatfield*; for Eddius does not mention that Wilfred brought over this Bull, nor that he was at Hatfield, and it is plain that *he could not be there*; he was at Rome in 680 at the synod against the Monothelites, and on his return was imprisoned for nine months in Northumberland, and the Council of Hatfield was

¹ *Op. cit.*, ii, 30.

held in September, 680. Thirdly, *the difference between the Latin and the Saxon copy.* The Saxon gives the abbot a *legatine power*, the Latin only admonishes the bishop of the diocese to *favours him* and treat him like a brother. Fourthly, *in the Saxon copy, Ethelred, King of Mercia, subscribes the Bull at the Council.* Bede mentions none but the clergy as present. Fifthly, *the pope discharges the abbey from all secular service.* The popes at that time pretended to no such power, and sixthly, *the legatine power*; a power which the abbots of Peterborough never exercised."

Professor Earle speaks of the exemptions contained in the pretended writs of Vitalian and Agatho as pure fiction, and a transplantation of the monkish ambition of the twelfth century back into the seventh century.¹ He further adds: "The first *real* case of exemption of an English abbey from episcopal jurisdiction appears to have been that of Battle Abbey."² "This document," say Haddan and Stubbs, "must share the condemnation of the charter of Wulfhere and of the privilege of Vitalian granted to the same monastery."³ It is interesting to note that a similar grant of privileges by Pope Agatho to the see of London is described by Haddan and Stubbs as *corrupt and spurious*, and also as a *corrupt fabrication*⁴ of a similar grant to Chertsey. The same writers say, "There can be little doubt as to the spuriousness of this and the preceding documents."⁵

The copy of this charter inserted by Hugo Candidus in his history is taken directly from the Latin rescension, following its phraseology and language and merely omitting some tautological phrases. In the Anglo-Saxon copy a witness is omitted who occurs in both copies of the Latin charter, namely, the person who signs his name as *Johannes Romanus Legatus*.

The next insertion is in the year 686, and tells us that "Ceadualla (the king of Wessex) gave Hoge, which is in an island called Heabur-eagh (apparently in Kent), to Medeshamstede. The then abbot of the monastery, we are told, was called Egbalt. He was the third abbot after Saxulf. At that time Theodorus was archbishop in Kent." This annal is not printed by Thorpe in smaller type like the other insertions, but in the text, and without any note about its being an

¹ *Op. cit.*, xlv.

² *Id.*, 287.

³ *Op. cit.*, iii, 160.

⁴ *Id.*, iii, 161.

⁵ *Id.*, 164.

interpolation¹; but as Professor Earle says, the intrusion is betrayed not only by the language but by the subject. In regard to Abbot Egbalt, Mr. Plummer has a note in which he says he did not become abbot until the year 709. For this he cites Professor Bright's History, p. 393, who in turn cites the last edition of the *Monasticon*. This last authority, however, has no better foundation for the statement than an *obiter dictum* of Hugo Candidus, who at this time is not an independent witness, and who merely says that St. Wilfred died during the abbacy of Abbot Cuthbald.² As, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Wilfred died in 709, the conclusion has been reached that Egbalt, Cuthbald's successor, did not become abbot till 709. All this, however, rests on the very unsafe foundation of Hugo, and is in itself most improbable and impossible to correlate with the other evidence we possess. To return to the annal of 686. Neither Professor Earle nor Mr. Plummer have noticed that this annal, like the others previously discussed, is entirely condensed from another Latin document which is also extant,³ and which is preserved in the register of Peterborough documents in the Society of Antiquaries. This document has all the internal signs of a forgery. It begins with some unusual rhetorical phrases, and then Cadualla proceeds to say that when he obtained the nation of the Cantuarii (*cum dispensanti domino Cantuariorum regimina nostro obtemperarent imperio*), i.e., in 686, he made over 40 lands (*xl terrae*) situated at Hogh belonging to the island of Hebureahg, to the Abbot Egbalt and his community, as was attested by the succeeding witnesses. The same document then states that some years having elapsed, the kingdom of Kent fell into the hands of Sighere, king of the Saxons, who confirmed the grant. Presently Suebheard, another king of Kent, not only confirmed but increased it by twenty lands and also added six cassates of wood-land in another place called Fircanhamstede. The grant was also confirmed by King Wigtred. After a lapse of some time, "Æthelred, King of the Mercians, and of all the isles in Britain," read the charter at the Monastery

¹ *A.S.C.*, i, 63.

² Sparke, 13.

³ Kemble, *C.D.*, n. 40; Birch, 89.

of Medeshamstede, and being asked by Abbot Egbalt to confirm it, did so with the assent of Bishop Saxulf. Then follow a long series of witnesses, divided into groups, each of the kings above named being followed by a set of signatures. The document is not dated, and although in the outward guise and form of a single charter, is in reality a composite structure, in which the separate acts of several kings are condensed in one document, in a quite impossible form of conveying. The contents, too, are very inconsistent. Ceadwalla was still a pagan in the year 688, after which he resigned the throne and made a journey to Rome, where he was baptized in 689 and died the same year. He was apparently never in England at all after he became a Christian. It makes it hard to understand how he could, therefore, have been a benefactor to the Church, and how he acted in connection with Archbishop Theodore, who died in 690, in making a grant to Peterborough. Peterborough, again, was not within his dominions of Wessex and Kent, but in the kingdom of another sovereign at deadly issue with his own race, namely, that of Mercia. In 686 and 687, he was laying waste Kent, yet the neighbouring kings are found concurring in this grant and enlarging it. Among the signatories, Sebbi, the joint king of Essex, is made to sign as *Sebbi episcopus*, while the confirmation of King Æthelred is signed inter alios by *Heddan abbas Medeshamstede indignus testis*. There can be no doubt, in fact, that the document was a forgery, like the rest of those I have discussed. The various kings, and perhaps other names mentioned in it, were no doubt derived from Bede. It is ominous that this grant is not mentioned by Hugo Candidus. In regard to Abbot Egbalt he says that he was the third abbot after Saxulf, while in the notice in the *Chronicle* he is made his immediate successor.

The next insertion, which is entered under the year 777, almost a century later, consists of the abstracts of two documents having nothing in common. The first one tells us, that in the days of King Offa there was an abbot of Medeshamstede called Beonna, who, with the consent of the monks, let ten bondlands at Swineshead with pasture, meadow and appurtenances, to an ealdorman

called Cuthbriht for his life, for a yearly rent of £50 with a day's entertainment, or in lieu of it, 30s. per annum. The witnesses, we are told, were King Offa and King Egferth, and Archbishop Hygeberht and Bishop Ceolwulf, and Bishop Inwona and Abbot Beonna, and *many other bishops and abbots, and many other good men*. The last clause in italics shows that the document is professedly an abstract. Here again the original is extant and preserved in the register of Peterborough documents preserved at the Society of Antiquaries, and has been abstracted by Birch, number 271, and the Saxon edition was no doubt, as its language shows, a translation made from it in the twelfth century. The Latin original adds several names to the list of witnesses after Beonna. The fact that the document is undated, and the form and the witnesses of this Latin original seem to me to be most suspicious. It is almost incredible that a simple lease of lands for one life made by the community at Peterborough to a private individual should have been attested by two kings, an archbishop, and a bishop. Egferth who styles himself king, and signs this charter after Offa, was crowned in his father's lifetime in 785, and eventually succeeded him in 795, but he only reigned 143 days. In most charters, however, he continued to style himself *elito*, *filius regis*, etc., and not *rex*, until his father's death. Archbishop Hygeberht, who signs next, was no doubt the personage of that name who was appointed archbishop of Lichfield in 787.¹ Ceolwulf, who signs next, was bishop of Lindsay from 767–796. Inwona was bishop of Leicester from *circ.* 781–4 to *circ.* 801–3. It is plain, therefore, that although entered in the *Chronicle* under the year 777, the earliest possible date for the original of this document was 787. Beonna Abbas signs a grant by Offa to Bishop Waermund in 789.² The date is not the really important matter, however. It is the fact of these exalted witnesses attaching their names to such a homely document, which makes it very probable that it is not genuine, and that a much later writer was giving what he doubtless thought a very safe warranty to a spurious document, by thus attesting it.

¹ See Haddan and Stubbs, iii, 445.

² See Birch, 255.

Following immediately in the *Chronicle*, on the abstract of Beonna's charter, under the year 777 we have in the same twelfth century English an abstract of a second charter, of which the Latin original is also extant. Apart from its language the use of the word eorl in the Saxon copy shows that it was translated long after the year 777, when it is entered in the *Chronicle*. The word eorl would be an absurd anachronism in an eighth century document. I take it the use of *tun* in the modern sense of town in the same document is a similar anachronism. As in the case of the previously quoted Latin charter the original of this one has no date. It purports to be made at the request of "Pusa, my abbot," and of his "praefectus" called Brorda, who asked him to concede certain liberties, *aliquam libertatem* to the church called Wocengas (*i.e.*, Woking). The king proposes to grant the privileges requested which are limited to secular exemptions in the terms, "*Haec est ergo praefata munificentia in loco in quo se illud monasterium situm est, ut absque impedimento secularum negotiorum ac regalium tributorum sine expeditionum aut jussiorum incognitarum . soli domino serviens sancta congregatio juris sui ac dominationis potestate propria non privetur .*" The document is signed "*in regione Suth-regiona . villa regali Freoderichuma.*"¹

In this the original document, the most suspicious circumstance is that it is not dated. After passing through the crucible of the *Peterborough Chronicle* it has been changed, however, in some notable respects. In that edition of it, Brorda is made the owner of the minster at Woking, and is made to prefer his request to the king because he further wished to give Woking to Medeshamstede (which last is not named at all in the Latin charter). The privileges are also extended as in a previous instance already quoted, and we are told the king freed the minster at Woking, against king, and against bishop, and against eorl, and against all men, so that no one should have any claim there except St. Peter and the abbot; these changes show what sinister methods of dealing with his documents could be practised by the Peterborough compiler when it suited his purpose.

¹ Birch, 275.

The granting of these exemptions and far-reaching privileges was quite impossible in the eighth century, and as we have seen reflect the thoughts of a much later date. Again, Brorda was a Mercian alderman. He was present at the legantine synod of 787 and signed many charters. According to Simeon of Durham he was also called Hildegils, and died in 799 (ii, 62). It seems curious that, if a Mercian, he should have had proprietary rights over an abbey at Woking in the West-Saxon kingdom, and Haddan and Stubbs speak of the entry in the *Chronicle* as not entirely satisfactory.

Neither Professor Earle nor Mr. Plummer seem to have been aware of the Latin originals of the annal of 777. It is interesting to remember that in the Peterborough register at the Society of Antiquaries we have a copy of another Woking document which has a dubious look. It consists of a grant of privileges to the monasteries of St. Peter at Vermundsey and Woking in which Peterborough is again not mentioned. The latter only obtained possession of Woking at a later date, but it would naturally profit from any privileges that could be claimed by its later *protégé*. Of this grant of remuneration and privilege Haddan and Stubbs say: "The document, of course, is of very questionable authority;" they add that "it should be compared with the spurious privileges of Chertsey and Evesham."¹ It will be seen, therefore, that grave suspicion attaches to the rubrics of 777.

The next insertion is in the year 852, where we read that at this time Ceolred, abbot of Medeshamstede, and the monks let some land at Sempigaham, or Sempringham in Lincolnshire, to Wilfred for his life on condition that he surrendered Sliorvaforda (*i.e.*, Sleaford) to the abbey, and

"delivered annually to the abbey 60 fothers of wood, and 12 fothers of coal, and six fothers of faggots, and two tuns of pure ale, and two beasts fit for slaughter, and 600 loaves, and 10 measures of Welsh ale, and a horse, and thirty shillings, and one day's entertainment. At this agreement were present Buhred and Archbishop Ceolred, and Bishop Tunberht, and Bishop Cenred, and Bishop Alhhun, and Abbot Wihtrred, and Abbot Werththerd, and Aethelheard the caldorman, and Hunberht the caldorman and many others."

¹ *Op. cit.*, iii, 277.

The conclusion of the clause shows that the quotation is an epitome, and the original document from which the annal is taken is also extant and preserved in the Peterborough register at the Society of Antiquaries.¹ It is written bilingually in Saxon and Latin; at least the first clause is in Latin. *In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti*, so is the dating clause, *anno vero dominice incarnationis DCCCCII. indictione XI: hoc factum est*. It seems to be a genuine document. The Saxon copy contains several mistakes, as in making the lease for one life instead of two; in calling the archbishop Ceolred instead of Ceolnoth, and the bishop Cenred or Ceored instead of Ceolred, who was bishop of Leicester. This copy was no doubt made in the twelfth century.

The next insertion (which is not marked as such by Thorpe) is a dismal one, for it describes in one dreary sentence the utter destruction of the abbey. It tells us merely that

“The Danes in that year went to Medeshamstede and burnt and broke, and slew the abbot and the monks, and all they found there, then made they that which was once full rich so that it was reduced to nothing.”

The language of this insertion like that of the rest is of the twelfth century and it contains no details such as a contemporary would have written. Except the statement about the destruction of the abbey, the rest is all rhetoric. That no details were anywhere extant may be gathered from the long narration of the event by Hugo Candidus in his history, which is only a prolonged wail, from which we merely gather that he attributed the destruction of the abbey to the same horde of Danes who under Ingvar and Hubba made a martyr of King Edmund. The destruction was complete and the place remained a waste for ninety-six years. It is perfectly plain from the narrative of Hugo Candidus that beyond the Latin charters, which were doubtless put together in his own lifetime, and which were mere spurious documents, he had no materials for the early history of the abbey. After Egbert he mentions four abbots only—Puse, Benna, Selredus and Hedda—and then says :

¹ See K., C.D., 277; Birch, 464.

“Cætera autem ut miraculosum insignia vel quaeque tunc tempora sunt gesta, aut scriptorum negligentia, aut perserutiorus tempore abolita, nostra latent saecula ; praeter ea, quae in privilegiis sunt scripta, in quibus, et eorum nomina sunt reperta.”¹

I may add that this is the only mention made by Hugo Candidus of these four abbots.

The next insertion was made in the year 963, and it is a very important text. It is written, like the rest of those I have discussed, in the language of the twelfth century, and Thorpe points out a notable fact in that the word *tun* in it is used in the modern sense of town,² which, as we saw, was the case in an earlier insertion, and is an anachronism.

The previously quoted annal described the destruction of the abbey by the Danes. This one describes its restoration in the reign of Edgar, almost a century later. It tells us that :

“the year after Athelwold was consecrated as Bishop of Winchester, *i.e.*, 964, he built many monasteries and drove the clerks out of the bishopric as they would not have any rule, and set monks there. He made two abbeys, one for monks and one for nuns at Winchester. He then went to King Eadgar and begged him to give him all the monasteries the heathen men had destroyed, as he wished to restore them. This the king gladly did. He therefore restored the monastery at Ely, where St. Aetheldretha lay and made one of his monks named Brihtnodeth its abbot, and put monks there where there had been nuns, and he bought many villages of the king and made the foundation very rich. He then went to Medeshamstede which had been destroyed by the heathen men *and there he found nothing but old walls and wild woods, and he found hidden in the old walls writings that Abbot Headda had once written, how King Wulfhere and his brother Aethelred had built it, and how they freed it against the king, and against bishop, and against all secular service ; and how Pope Agatho had confirmed it by writ, and the Archbishop Deusdedit.*”

This is assuredly a very interesting notice. It will be remembered that the abbey had been lying in ruins for ninety-six years, and the statement is that among its ruined walls the inestimable parchments in question had been found intact. “This statement,” as Professor Earle says, “is enough to set criticism on the alert as to the soundness of the antecedent history.”³ This is surely putting the matter very gently. It was not an uncommon artifice to produce useful and almost necessary

¹ Sparke, 13.

² *Op. cit.*, ii, 94, note.

³ *Op. cit.*, 120, note.

documents out of the holes in old walls. Thus in Matthew Paris' history of Abbot Eadmer there is a tale of a very ancient book, written in the British language, which was discovered in a recess in a wall, and of its being with some difficulty deciphered by Unwana, an aged monk, when it was found to contain the life of St. Alban.¹ It was unfortunate in that case that the most interesting original disappeared directly it had been copied and been published in Latin. In the present case the documents which were professedly discovered in the hole in the wall included some of those which, as we have seen, are now universally condemned on other grounds as forgeries, notably the original Latin copies of Wulthere's grant of 664, and of Pope Agatho's writ of 675.

Let us now revert to the annal of 963. It reports that Bishop Athelwold caused the monastery at Medeshamstede to be rebuilt and that he put an Abbot there who was called Athulf (Ealdwulf was his real name), and with him monks. He then showed the king the writings which he claimed had been found and the king thereupon made a fresh grant of lands with a confirmation of privileges to the monastery which are duly set out. Then (we are told) the Abbot Athulf bought fresh lands and largely endowed the monastery, and he remained there till the death of Archbishop Oswald of York, whom he succeeded. Kenulf was then appointed abbot. He was the first to surround the abbey with a wall, whence it became known as Burh instead of Medeshamstede. There he remained till he was elected Bishop of Winchester, when he was succeeded as abbot by Ælfsi, who was abbot for fifty years. He translated the remains of St. Kyneburgh and St. Kyneswith, who lay at Castor, and of Saint Tibba, who lay at Ryhall, to Peterborough and offered them to St. Peter in one day.

This is very instructive. Oswald, archbishop of York, died in 992, Kenulf became bishop of Winchester in 1005, and fifty years from that date, when Ælfsi is said to have died, was 1055, so that this annal, which is entered under 963 in the *Chronicle*, could not have been composed until 1055 or later. It is in fact not an annal at all, but an abstract of the history of Peterborough for 62 years

¹ Hardy, *Cat. of MSS.*, i, 5-16.

condensed into a long paragraph and duly entered under its earliest year.

Like the other similar annals we have considered, it is written in the English of the twelfth century. What is more important to remember, however, is that it is also a translation from the Latin, and the Latin originals whence it was derived are extant. The first of these (see Birch, 1280), preserved in the Peterborough register at the Society of Antiquaries, professes to be a grant of lands and privileges from Eadgar. It recites the forged charter of Wulfhere and the writ of exemption of Pope Agatho, above described, and there shown to be a twelfth century concoction. Although dated in 970 it refers to Medeshamstede as Burh or Burch, which name, as we read in the annal of 963, it only acquired in Kenulf's abbacy, *c.* 992–1005. Its phraseology is quite fantastic. The king speaks of himself as : *Ego Edgarus sub ipso sydereo praesidens regno magnae Britanniae*, and speaks of the year 972 as *terreni imperii mei anno decimo*. Dunstan, the archbishop of Canterbury, and Oswald of York, who are the only signatories to the document, are both made privy to the most extravagant claims of exemption from all ecclesiastical control, which includes the phrase “*et reverendissimi archiepiscopi nostri Dunstani auctoritati*,” and only excepts that of the abbot and the Pope. Dunstan signs *cum trophæo aggae crucis corroboravi*. Assuredly we could not have a better collection of proofs that this document, like others previously named, was a forgery of the twelfth century.

This is no doubt the original draft of the spurious charter, while a much more corrupt and mutilated copy is printed by Birch under the number 1258 which is taken from Ingulf. The former is also undoubtedly the source of the earlier part of the annal of 963, the charter as quoted, in which is a mutilated epitome of this Latin document with a much curtailed list of witnesses.

It seems to me a pity that Mr. Plummer has associated these spurious documents with the charters numbered 1128–1130 in Birch relating to Peterborough which have nothing to do with the notices in the *Chronicle*, are not referred to in it, and have all the character and looks of genuine documents.

Down to this point the insertions, with the exception of that of 852 and the notice of the destruction of the monastery in 870, are based upon other documents, all of which, as far as we can judge, were spurious. None of these entries, with the exceptions named, are of any value, and all are worthless as historical data. The terrible desolation caused by the Danes evidently destroyed all documents and evidences belonging to the abbey which were then existing, and if the grant of 852 be deemed an exception it will be remembered that it was such a bilateral transaction as would necessitate two copies of the deed, and that the one which survives was probably derived by the monks from the grantee after the fire.

The succeeding insertions stand on a different footing altogether and are based on what seem to be reliable data, either the living tradition of the monks or various notanda preserved in note books, etc., and probably in Latin. It is clear, however, from their language that they were composed as we have them by the same writer who translated the spurious Latin charters.

Let us now turn to the next interpolated passage. It is appended to the annal of 1013 and refers to the purchase by Abbot Aelfsi of the body, all except the head, of St. Florentine for £500 from the monks of Bonneval. The abbot went there to effect a purchase, and tells us he found a poor abbot and poor monks, for they had been plundered. In the annal, St. Florentine is called "Sancte," and not "halga," which seems to point to the notice having come from a Latin source.

In regard to this interesting entry, a passage in the history of Hugo Candidus perhaps explains the source of the information. It tells us the monks of Bonneval were in the habit of going on periodical pilgrimages to Peterborough. Hugo says, *unde monachi predicti monasterii S. Florentini . . . gemunt per secula, sicut nobis retulerunt quidam ex ipsis qui eum requirere et orare venerant in Anglia.*¹

The periodical visit of these Frenchmen to do homage to their saint would keep the story about him alive.

The next insertion, the tenth, is dated in 1041 (really 1042). It merely tells us of the death of Aelfsi, the Abbot

¹ Sparke, 32.

of Burh, and of the appointment of his successor Arnwi, a monk.

The next insertion is in 1052. It tells us how Abbot Arnwi, with the consent of the king, surrendered his post to Leofric and afterwards lived eight years, and goes on to say Leofric so enriched the monastery that it was called the golden borough, and waxed greatly in land, gold and silver.

The penultimate sentence of this annal ends with the word Canterbury, to which Plummer adds a particularly interesting note in view of the history of the *Peterborough Chronicle*. He says "the annal originally ended at this point. The remainder is for the most part inserted in the margin but by the same hand."¹ Here, therefore, we see the process of interpolation actually in progress.

The next interpolation, the twelfth, is in 1066. It mentions the death of Abbot Leofric on All Hallows mass night, November 1, followed by the ejaculation, "God be merciful to his soul." Hugo Candidus calls him *pulcherrimus monachorum, flos et decus abbatum Lewricus*.

Leofric was a nephew of the great Earl Leofric, and the annalist tells us that the monastery greatly prospered in his time and became very rich, and he was dear to the people, and the king gave to the abbey of St. Peter the abbey of Burton, and that of Coventry which his uncle had founded, and also Croyland and Thorney. Then, says the annalist, the golden borough became the wretched borough. The monks chose Brand for their abbot and sent him to Edgar Ætheling, whom the people wished to be king. This greatly enraged William, who became reconciled with Brand, the latter gave the king 40 marks in gold for a reconciliation, after which he lived for two years, thereupon there came every tribulation and cost on the abbey.

The death of Abbot Brand is entered in the *Peterborough Chronicle* in 1069. He died on November 27th, which shows the previous annal was not a contemporary entry. This *obit* of Brand ought to be treated as an insertion.

¹ *Op. cit.*, i, 183, note.

In 1070 we have a long and important insertion. As Mr. Plummer argues, it is clear that the original copy of the *Chronicle* upon which the Peterborough text is based was here in the form we find it in MS. D.; the first sentence is in part precisely the same in both. The compiler of E, however, inserted a large quantity of Peterborough matter, and wrote it out in his own twelfth century English. I will give an abstract of this local matter. It begins with a statement that in this year Swein, king of Denmark, entered the Humber and was joined by the country people. Then there came to Ely, Christian, the Danish bishop (of Aarhus) and the earl Asbiörn and the Danish huscarls or body guards, and they were joined by all the people of the Fenland who thought they would win the land. The monks of Peterborough heard that these people (the *Chronicle* calls them outlaws), Hereward and his men, were going to plunder the monastery because the king had given it to a Frenchman (*i.e.*, Turolde). A certain church ward called Ivar, with the approval of the monks, removed some of the abbey treasures, gospels, mass vestments, mantles, charters, copes, robes, etc., and informed Turolde that the outlaws intended to come to the abbey. They came on the morrow with many ships and were resisted by the monks, but they set fire to the place and burnt all the monks' houses and all the town except one house, and presently entered the abbey by the Bolehithe gate. Hugo Candidus also calls it *janua ab australi parte monasterii Petroburgensis vulgo hodie Bulldykegate dicta*. They climbed up to the rood, took the crown of beaten gold from the Saviour's head, and the bracket under his foot which was all of red gold. They mounted the tower and took the crozier of gold and silver there hidden, and two gold shrines, and of silver, and fifteen great roods of gold and silver and some documents and books. They professed to do all this out of love for the monastery. They then went off in ships to Ely and there deposited their treasures. The monks were all dispersed save one named Leofwine Lange, who was sick in the sick room (*saecraeman*). Hugo Candidus uses the Latin equivalent *in domo infirmorum*. Then came Turolde with one hundred and sixty Frenchmen (*Frencisce*) all armed, and they found everything

burnt but the church, but the outlaws had gone away in their ships knowing he would come. This was on June 2nd. Then the two kings William and Swein were reconciled. The Danes took the treasures away with them from Ely, but their fleet was scattered in a storm, some went to Norway, some to Ireland, and some to Denmark. The crozier, and some shrines and roods, and many other treasures reached Denmark, and were put in a church there. One night, however, through their carelessness and drunkenness, the church got on fire and was burnt with all in it. The compiler ends this description with one of his ejaculations on the abbey, "May God Almighty have compassion on it through His mercy." Turol and his monks now returned, and within a week were again saying mass there. Bishop Aegelric excommunicated all the men who had done the evil. The rest of the annal agrees entirely in regard to its matter with MS. D, but is phrased somewhat differently. In the year 1098 is entered the *obit* of Abbot Turol.

The next insertion is in 1102 where we read, "In this same year in Pentecost mass week, there came thieves, some from Aluearnie,¹ some from France, and some from Flanders, and broke into the monastery of Peterborough, and took a number of roods, chalices and candlesticks in gold and silver. Hugo Candidus gives other details of this raid, the circumstances of which may easily have been in the memory of one who was living in the abbey in 1121, when the *Chronicle* was first composed.

In the next year is another insertion which has apparently been overlooked by the commentators. It tells us that in this year, Matthias, abbot of Peterborough, died. He had only held the abbacy a year. "He was received with procession on October 21st, and on the same day of the second year he was dead at Gloucester, and was there buried."

The next insertion is in 1107, when we are told that among those who received abbacies was Ernulf, who had been prior of Canterbury and now succeeded to Burch, seven years after King Henry succeeded to the kingdom and the fortieth since "the Franks" ruled the land.

¹ Thorpe, Earle and Plummer translate Auvergne, but Hugo Candidus says Alemannia. Auvergne seems an impossible distance away.

The next insertion is in 1114. It tells us how at this time the king, intending to go abroad, got as far as the coast, but was prevented by the weather from crossing; meanwhile he summoned Abbot Ernulf to go to him as he wished to speak to him, and he forced the bishopric of Rochester upon him, and the archbishops, and bishops, and nobility in England supported the king. Ernulf resisted long, but at length was constrained to accept it. This interview took place at Bourne (*i.e.*, Eastbourne) on September 15th. The king bade the archbishop take him to Canterbury to consecrate him. The monks of Peterborough, when they heard of it, were sorry as they had never been before. "May God Almighty ever abide with him," ejaculates the writer. The king presently gave the monastery to a monk of Seez, named Johannes, at the desire of the archbishop of Canterbury, and he soon after went to Rome with a monk called Warner, and the archbishop's nephew called John, to bring home the pall for the archbishop. This was on September 21st, and the same day the king set sail from Portsmouth.

In regard to this annal Thorpe says in a note :

"From here (*i.e.* from the sentence relating to Peterborough) to the end of the year the language becomes extremely ungrammatical and corrupt, quite unlike the foregoing, but resembling that of the spurious and doubtful charters at pp. 52, 58, 92, 122 and 220."

The matter is moreover connected with the abbey of Peterborough,¹ Mr. Plummer remarks that certain words in this annal, such as *aefter*, *pallium*, *munec*, *waes* are added as corrections above the line, or on the margin by a later hand, probably that which wrote the annal 1122.² The next insertion is in the year 1115, where it is written in the margin by a later hand and is a mere short reference to the abbot of Peterborough in the words, "*se l'abb., Johan of Burh.*" The 18th and last of the insertions was made in the year 1116, and consists of a sentence appended to the annal of that year. It tells us how the monastery of Peterborough was burnt and all the houses, except the chapter house and the sleeping room (*slaepperne*), together with the greater part of the town, which happened on Friday the second of the

¹ Thorpe, *op. cit.*, 370, note.

² *Op. cit.*, i, 246, note.

nones of August (August 4th). Thorpe says in regard to the language of this phrase :

“From here (*i.e.* its beginning) to the end of the year is another corrupt and ungrammatical passage, relating to Peterborough, and may probably, like the others, be the composition of a foreigner.”¹

Although this is the last actual insertion we seem to have a ghost of another, for in the annal of 1117 the concluding phrase is incomplete and more than a line and a half are left vacant in the MS. as if the materials for the clause had not been supplied to the scribe by the historian. Mr. Plummer suggests that the writer was going on to mention the re-foundation of the abbey.²

Let us now sum up the result of this analysis. It is clear in the first place that, as Meyer says, all these insertions are written in one form of speech and were doubtless the product of one author. They may be divided into several classes. To the first class belong the annals of 654, 656, 675, 686, 777, 852, 963, which are all of them, so far as we can judge, translations or abstracts of Latin originals, most of which survive, some of them at Peterborough and others in the valuable register of Peterborough documents presented to the Society of Antiquaries by the Earl of Exeter. These Latin originals, with the possible exception of the annal 852, were doubtless forgeries, and have been so treated by every competent inquirer.

Apart from the conclusive internal evidence here brought together on the subject is the overwhelming fact that in the year 870 the monastery was utterly destroyed and the community extirpated, and that it remained in ruins for nearly a century, and we can hardly doubt that all its treasures were carried off and its books and documents burnt. The particular document quoted in the *Chronicle* under the year 852, and which has no palpable defects of form and language, is a deed in which a private individual had special transactions with the abbey, involving bilateral obligations, and it is not impossible that such private individual could retain a duplicate of the deed which was eventually copied into the register of the monastery.

¹ *Op. cit.*, i, 37.

² *Op. cit.*, ii, 296

In regard to the forged Latin deeds underlying the annals of 654, 656, 675, 686 and 963, Mr. Plummer has suggested that they were made in the reign of Edgar. This view was doubtless based by him on the statement in the annal of 963 which suggests their being in existence at that time, but that insertion is itself a composition or compilation of the twelfth century and of no value as a guide in such a matter. On the other hand, the Latin phraseology of these deeds seems, as I have tried to show, to clearly point to their having been forged in the twelfth century. Later on we shall discuss who was the probable forger. Such forgeries did not in fact present as much moral obliquity as might at first sight appear. It meant very often an honest attempt to restore by memory, or some other means, the documents of title which had been hopelessly lost or destroyed. Thus William of Malmesbury says of similar doings elsewhere :

“Splendivit ibi religio, usque ad Danos, qui . . . locum illum pessemdedere . . . at rex Edgarus . . . illud [monasterium] refecit in solidum, undique veteribus cartis conquisitis, quarum testimonio praedia renocaret ad locum, quæ quidam ex magnatibus senui seu vetustatis auctoritate occuparent ad jus suum.”

“A demand,” says Mr. Plummer, “of this kind never failed to create a supply. Of course in many cases the land may have been justly claimed, though the documents by which the claim was supported were forged.” I would rather say that such an appropriation of lands would have been well nigh impossible, since the jury of the country could at once testify as to who had been in actual possession, receipt of rents, etc.

Putting aside the inserted annals the material of which has been derived from spurious charters and which includes all the notices about Peterborough previous to its destruction by the Danes, let us consider the other insertions. The annal of 1013 describing the purchase of the relics of St. Florentine might well have been derived from the French pilgrims, who, according to the annals, were wont regularly to go to Peterborough to do honour to the saint, and who were descendants of the vendors.

The obits of the abbots contained in the annals of 1042, 1052, and 1066, 1069, 1098 and 1103 were doubtless

¹ *A.S.C.*, ii, 217.

directly derived from some service book, in which their names were recorded, among those for the repose of whom prayers were recited, or else were copied from their tombstones. The original matter in the insertions which may claim to be authentic, and to have some definite historical interest begins with the year 1066, and includes the years 1070, 1102, 1107, 1114 and 1116, and notably the annal of 1070. All these may well have been compiled from the traditions current in the abbey about its later history, and have been derived by the writer from its older inmates, whom he had known and conversed with, the last two entries being within his own memory. None of them was more than 58 years old when the first handwriting in the *Peterborough Chronicle* ends, and if we detach the various insertions here described, which were all written in a late form of speech, from the *Peterborough Chronicle*, we shall have left a fairly homogeneous document written in a uniform style of standard Anglo-Saxon with a few Latin insertions, a document, in fact, which has the special character of the other *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*. So far as we can judge, that particular document which no longer survives in the original has been preserved virtually intact, in substance as well as in language, as incorporated in the *Peterborough Chronicle*. In regard to its language, Mr. Earle says that although the orthography has been modified, it is not brought to a uniformity with the insertions, and we mostly find the phraseology of the older books preserved in a mechanical sort of way. But now and then an alteration seems to be forced upon the compiler, where the old phrase was too obsolete to be endured, *e.g.*, in 688; A has *and se papa hine heht Petrus*, B and C only change the archaic spelling of heht to het, but E transforms the expression into *and he him scop Petrum to name*.¹ It is perfectly plain, therefore, and universally admitted that before the year 1124, when Ernulf, bishop of Rochester, died, and probably about the year 1122, some monk at Peterborough borrowed a copy of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* which had been carried down to the year 1121, which he copied out, interpolating in it at intervals, paragraphs and notices about the abbey, some of which he translated from spurious documents, while

¹ *Op. cit.* note xliv.

others came from reputable sources. It is plain that the compiler who did this, actually composed some of the later notices. In these inserted pieces, says Professor Earle, we find a confirmation of the date of E's composition. A comparison of them with the language of the continuation after 1121 places it beyond doubt that the work was compiled at the date when the first hand stops. Similarly, Thorpe, speaking of the local entry of 1114, says: "From here (*i.e.*, when it commences) to the end of the year the language becomes extremely ungrammatical and corrupt, quite unlike the foregoing, but resembling that of the spurious and doubtful charters at pp. 52, 58, 92, 122 and 220, that is to say, the local entries under the years 656, 675, 777, 851 and 963. Of the local insertion in 1116, being the last of these additions, he says, "from here to the end of the year is another corrupt and ungrammatical passage relating to Peterborough, very probably, like the others, the composition of a foreigner."

Let us now turn from the original compilation to the additional matter appended to it. The first handwriting in the MS. of the *Peterborough Chronicle* ceases, as we have seen, with the end of the annal of 1121, whence it is clear that no part of that MS. could have been written before the year 1122. The first break in the handwriting is thus glossed by Thorpe: "Here there seems to be a new scribe and a very indifferent one." He was only responsible for one short annal, for that of the year 1123 is similarly glossed. "Here the ink is paler and the writing larger, perhaps by another scribe." Mr. Plummer says: "Here there seems to be a change of hand. The ink is much paler." Of the annal of 1124, Mr. Plummer says: "Here there seems to be another change of hand and ink; probably a reversion to the hand which wrote the annal of 1122."

The concluding six words of the annal of 1125 and the first six of 1126 forming (apart from the context) an incoherent sentence, partly written on the margin, are also written in a different ink, and perhaps, says Mr. Plummer, by a different hand, while the rest of the two first paragraphs of the annal of 1126 seem to be in the same writing as the main part of the annal of 1125, showing what an accidental tie alone linked the writer and the composer. The next break in the writing is in the

midst of the annal of 1126 and just before its closing paragraph, from which to the end of 1131 the writing is continuous. The continual and aimless changes in the handwriting during the years 1121–1126 point very clearly to the breaches being caused by a fresh pen, or a fresh ink rather than a fresh author. Ingram, in fact, says, that from 1122–1131 we have rather a different ink than different writers. This was also the view of Wanley, who in describing the MS. in his catalogue of the Bodleian MSS. says :

“Quod attinet ad scriptionem hujusce Cod. omnia usque ad finem anni 1121, fol. 81, eadem manu eademque atramento manifeste sunt conscripta. Ex quo lxxx ea folia quo illud praeceunt, eodem anno, eademque manu exarata existimo. Caeterum in folio, nempe ab initio anni 1122, ad an usque 1132 etsi facies atramenti plane alia fit ab eodem tamen scriptore, exarata esse sentio. Quae autem, sequuntur ab anno Chr. 1132, usque ad an 1144, in quo abrupte defuerit codex : aliena manu prioris tamen saecula et imitatione scripta est videntur.”¹

There are only two very short sentences about Peterborough in the annals of the years 1121–1126, one in 1124 where we read of the death of Bishop Ernulf, with the further statement that he had been abbot of Peterborough, and the other the obit of John, abbot of Peterborough in 1125. The other references are all to matters elsewhere, and were probably communicated by other monastic scriptoria in Latin and then duly translated and entered up at Peterborough. As I have said, the change of writing which occurs in the annal of 1126 is not found at the beginning but just before the concluding paragraph, and the same script then continues to the end of the year 1131. Now it is a curious fact, not before noticed, so far as I know, that this interval from 1126–1132 exactly covers the tempestuous abbacy of Abbot Henry at Peterborough.

The section concerning Abbot Henry's career is notable in that it contains a much larger proportion of matter relating to Peterborough than the section which precedes it. Professor Earle and Mr. Plummer have argued that this section was entered up in the *Chronicle* year by year as the events happened and contemporaneously, and for this there is a certain plausible ground. Thus, as

¹ See Hickee's *Thesaurus*, ii, 64.

Hardy says, "a sentence which may be seen at the end of the year 1126 proves that the writer when he penned it was then ignorant of the issue of a transaction, which, however, he presently enters as concluded in 1128. This portion of the *Chronicle* bears indisputable marks of a contemporary hand on every page; the hopes and fears, affections and antipathies of the writer being all distinctly recorded." This view, however, presents some difficulties, and it will be useful in this behalf to relate the story of Abbot Henry as told in the *Chronicle* in some detail. Henry of Poitou, the abbot in question, was the son of the Duke of Aquitaine and a relative of the king of England. He was a very turbulent and ambitious person, and his career shows how the intrusion of great nobles into the Church had broken down its discipline; thus we read how in his clerkhood he had been bishop of Soissons, and afterwards became a monk of Cluny and then its abbot, and then prior of Savenin, and because he was related to the king of England and the Count of Poitou he was given the monastery of St. Jean d'Angely. He afterwards received the archbishopric of Besançon, which he only held however for three days, and presently secured the Bishopric of Saintes (which was only five miles from the abbey), whence he was removed, as he had been from Besançon, by the abbot of Cluny. He then repaired to King Henry, who was under obligations to him for having given evidence in the divorce suit between William, son of Robert, Earl of Normandy, and the daughter of the Count of Anjou. The king therefore appointed him Abbot of Peterborough.

His appointment was opposed by the great ecclesiastics on the ground that it was illegal to hold two abbacies at one time, but he persuaded the king that he had secured the consent of the Pope and of the abbot of Cluny, and that he was legate for the Rome scot (*i.e.*, Peter's pence). On taking possession of the abbey he at once commenced to make exactions, and his only purpose seemed to be to plunder the place and to send the proceeds abroad. The chronicler compares him to a drone in a hive and says he did no good there, and left no good there, and adds that as soon as his coming was known men had

seen dreadful portents, black hunters with black broad-eyed dogs riding on black horses and black bucks. These were seen in the Park at Peterborough, and in the towns between there and Stamford, and the monks heard the horns blow in the night. This is all related in the annal for 1127, which concludes with the words: "This was his ingang, of his utgang ne cunne we iett noht seggon. God seawe fore": *i.e.*, "This was his incoming, of his outgoing we cannot as yet say anything. May God provide." To which Mr. English adds the apposite note, "That is to say, this was written before 1132."¹ This clearly follows, for, to use Mr. Plummer's words, as Henry was still abbot of Peterborough, when it was written, and as he was expelled in 1132, it was therefore written down before that year, but inasmuch as there is no break in the handwriting of the *Chronicle* till 1132, it would seem equally clear that the entry in question was made in some note book elsewhere and was not entered up in the body of official annals of the abbey, *i.e.*, the *Chronicle*, until some time after. Nor is it possible to believe that any monk would dare to enter in the annals of the abbey in the lifetime of Abbot Henry such bitter phrases about him as are contained in this annal. This is not all, however. The annal for 1128 has a notice which seems important in regard to the history of the compilation of this part of the *Chronicle*. We read in it "May God Almighty have His mercy over that wretched place." This year, Abbot Henry, by the king's leave, went home to his own monastery at Poitou, "and," it adds, "that he had given the king an undertaking that he would entirely give that monastery and land, and live with him *there* (*thaer*) in England and in the Monastery of Peterborough, but nevertheless it was not so. He did it because he would through his great wiles be *there*, were it a twelvemonth or more, and then come again." Neither Mr. Earle nor Mr. Plummer comment on this important phrase. Its language shows that it refers to Henry as still abbot of Peterborough when it was written down, and it must therefore have been copied into the *Chronicle* from some *notanda* kept elsewhere.

¹ *Op. cit.*, 174, note.

Not only so, but as Thorpe long ago very shrewdly pointed out, the use of the word "there" in two of the sentences quoted shows that the paragraph was not written in England but somewhere abroad.¹

The annal for 1129 contains no local entry about Peterborough. In that for 1130 it is stated that Abbot Henry returned to Peterborough, and reported that he had entirely abandoned the abbey of Angely. The same year the abbot of Cluny came to England and visited Peterborough, and Henry promised to cause the monastery there to be made subordinate to Cluny, whereupon the chronicler moralizes thus: "It is said for a proverb, that hedge abides that fields divides. May God Almighty frustrate evil counsels." This concluding clause again is clearly only consistent with its having been written during Abbot Henry's tenure of the abbacy. In the annal for 1131 we read how Abbot Henry went to Normandy and reported to the king that the abbot of Cluny had ordered him to give up to him his abbey of St. Jean d'Angely. He thereupon went thither. The monks of St. Jean proceeded to elect another abbot and drove Henry out, and that abbey was thus lost to Cluny. Abbot Henry then went to Cluny, where he was detained. He then gave the monks there an undertaking that if he might revisit Peterborough he would make it over to Cluny, and appoint officials from Cluny there, and give up to Cluny all the treasures of the English abbey. The annalist again adds an ejaculation, "May God provide for the wretched monks of Peterborough and for that wretched place: now stand they in need of the help of Christ and of all Christian folk." Here again we have evidence that the annal was composed in the year to which it refers, but not at Peterborough.

The short series of annals 1126-1131 inclusive, all have one remarkable feature in common in that each one contains a curiously worded ejaculation, of which I have quoted several. Even the annal, 1129, which has no reference to Peterborough, when referring to the Papal schism says: "May Christ impart counsel for His wretched folk." This points to these annals having been composed by the same person. It is probable that the

¹ *Op. cit.*, ii, 225, note

writer was not living in the monastery during the abbacy of Abbot Henry, and wrote the annals in which he occurs so prominently abroad, and that, having returned to Peterborough again on the appointment of his successor, he then entered the whole series from 1126–1131 in the *Chronicle*. Whatever difference of handwriting there may be in these last annals, there is none in their language during the same years. Professor Earle graphically calls them years of genuine Peterborough chronicling, and he points out the peculiarities of their provincial diction and orthography. The king's name is generally spelt Heanri, and many other words show *ea* contrary to the usual orthography. *E.g.* : weas, wearan, forbearnde, hwear, ðear, seagon, Gleastonbyrig, geameni, heafde, beteahte, heafdor 1101. Such words are rarely found in the earlier parts : *e.g.*, streangðe, heafde. Other novelties in spelling are Norhtwic, Norhthamtune, Burch 1122, Burch, *id.*, 1124.

A good proof that the breaks in the handwriting in this copy of the *Chronicle* do not imply a breach in the composer is to be found in the annal of 1132. It will be remembered that the last break in the handwriting on it is at the end of 1131. The annal of 1132 then runs on in another handwriting thus : "In this year King Henry came to this land. Then came Abbot Henry and accused the monks of Peterborough to the king, because he would subject that monastery to Cluny ; so that the king was well nigh cajoled (*bepaht*) and sent for the monks, and by God's mercy and the bishop of Salisbury and the bishop of Lincoln, and the other powerful men who were there, the king learnt that he was treacherous. When he could do no more then he would that his nephew should be Abbot of Peterborough, but Christ would not permit it. It was not long after this that the king sent after him and caused him to give up the abbacy of Peterborough and to go out of the land, and appointed Martin, prior of St. Neots, in his place, and he came in great state to the monastery on St. Peter's mass day." Every word of this is an echo in style and temper of what has gone before, and is clearly the product of the same writer. This is important since the annal of 1132 is in the same writing as the rest of the

Chronicle to its conclusion in 1154, and was not written therefore before the latter date. The passages about Peterborough in the years 1137 and 1140, and 1154, are also very similar in style to that of 1132.

Let us now turn to the concluding section of the *Chronicle*. From the year 1132 to 1154 inclusive the MS. is written in the same hand. Throughout it bears the mark of one author who apparently did not compile it continuously year by year, but copied it out from notes in a note book, which were afterwards entered together about 1154, for we only find four years in the margin, namely, 1132, 1135, 1140 and 1154, and further there is a mistake in the date of one annal where Henry the First's final departure from England is put under the year 1135 instead of 1133. This block of annals exactly coincides with the career of Abbot Martin.

The *notanda*, as I have suggested, apparently comprized four sections; the first one was limited to the year 1132, and differs from the annals preceding it by being entirely limited to Peterborough affairs. This annal of 1132 is followed by two blank years, nothing being entered in 1133 and 1134. The annal of 1135 has nothing in it about Peterborough and was probably supplied from some other scriptorium. A proof that it was not contemporaneously written is that Henry the First's final departure from England which is set down under this year really took place in 1133. The year 1136 is blank.

The annal of 1137 is really a condensed narrative of the reign of Stephen. Mr. Plummer says: "The account of Stephen's reign was not entered annalistically, but thrown together roughly and without much regard to chronological order after the accession of Henry the Second."¹ After reporting the troubles of the reign the *Chronicle* continues, "In all this evil time Abbot Martin held his abbacy twenty winters and half a year and eight days with great trouble," a phrase showing how long after the events recorded the record itself was made. It then goes on to describe how the abbot enriched the monastery with lands and wall hangings, and removed the monks into the new monastery on St. Peter's mass

¹ Plummer, II, xlvii.

day in the year 1140, and twenty-three years after the burning (that is three years after the annal is dated). He then went to Rome and, as the annal says, got privileges from Pope Eugenius for the lands of the abbey and recovered much land which had been wrongfully appropriated, and planted a vineyard, and made the town better than it was, and he was a good monk and a good man, and therefore God and good men loved him. The annal ends with a short account of the life of St. William of Norwich. The annal of 1138 has no notice of Peterborough, and refers only to the Scotch invasion. That for 1139 is blank. That for 1140 is also a collection of detached notices referring to different years and to various English and foreign affairs, but containing no notice of Peterborough. It is followed by a *hiatus* of four years. In 1145 we have the notice of the death of King Stephen and the accession of his successor, and finally the *Chronicle* closes with the following paragraph :

“That same day (*i.e.*, the Sunday before midsummer day) that Martin Abbot of Peterborough should have gone thither (*i.e.*, to London) he sickened and died, on the 6th of the nones of January, (Jan. 2nd); and the monks within a day chose another for themselves. William de Waterville, a good clerk and a good man, and well loved of the king and of all good men. And all the monks buried the abbot honorably ; and even the abbot elect went, and the monks with him, to the King at Oxford; and the king gave him the abbey. He then went to Lincoln and was there consecrated as abbot, and was then received with great honour at Burch and with procession as he was at Ramsey, at Thorney, at Spalding, at . . . beres. He now is Abbot, fair has he begun may Christ him prosper.”

Let us now try and ascertain a little more nearly who the author of the *Peterborough Chronicle* was.

The Monastery of Peterborough was one of the oldest and richest in England. It would be exceedingly curious and in fact inexplicable if it did not, like the other great monasteries, possess before the year 1122 either a set of annals of its own, compiled and kept up in the monastery, or some written history, telling the story of the abbey in a continuous and not an annalistic form. Yet we know of none such. The *Peterborough Chronicle* which was compiled in 1122, and was almost immediately followed by the history of the monastery by Hugo

Candidus, are the only documents of the kind we know anything directly about, and both of them were products of the twelfth century. Nor are there, so far as I know, any MSS. extant of an earlier date than this which came directly from its library. This is in itself a puzzle. The key to it was first pointed out by Professor Earle. In the interpolated annal of 1116, in Codex E, we read that "on Friday, August the third of this year the whole Minster at Burh (*i.e.*, Peterborough) was burnt, with all the buildings except the Chapter house and 'the *Slaepperne*' (*i.e.*, the dormitory), together with most of the town."

Hugo Candidus tells us in his history that he was an eyewitness of the fire. Speaking of the founder, Saxulf, he says, "*Immanissimos itaque lapides in fundamentis coepit jacere, quales octo paria boum, vix unum traherent; quos et nos vidimus cum esset combustum et destructum ipsum monasterium.*" He accordingly tells us how on the second of the nones of August, on the vigil of St. Oswald, "*per incuriam combustum est totum Monasterium, præter capitulum et dormitorium et necessarium et refectarium novum ubi solummodo per tres dies manducaverant, refectis prius pauperibus; sed et tota villa combusta est.*" He attributes the fire to the abbot having lost his temper with the monks when he was angry with them, and when he cursed the house *maledixerat domum*, and suggests it may have been the act of one of the dependents who was himself angry and who lighting a fire, "*ignis arsit, et usque ad tectum pervenit et per omnes officinas usque ad villam volavit . . . ita . . . tota ecclesia et villa combusta est et omnia signa confracta sunt et perduravit ignis in turri novem diebus: nona autem nocte surrexit ventus validus, et dispersit ignem et carbones vivos de turri super domos abbatis, ita ut putaremus omnia officina ardere, quae relictæ erant.*"¹ Professor Earle, in commenting on this terrible fire, suggests as very probable that the monks then lost their books,² a suggestion which is very plausible.

In the *Annales Petrob.*, under the year 1117, we are told, "*Hoc anno novi monasterii nostri fundamentum*

¹ Sparke, 71, 72.

² *Op. cit.* Intr. xciii.

jactum est iiii id Marcii,"¹ so that the rebuilding of the monastery was speedily taken in hand. With the rebuilding of the monastery there would be a necessity for the replacement of the library, and as Professor Earle adds, this probably, or almost certainly, explains why a new *Chronicle* was started in 1122. It is not improbable again that the new book was written in the vernacular in order to secure a part of the prestige of the burnt copy, which was doubtless so written, and it was deemed more dignified to make the new annals as like the old ones as possible. Let us now try and discover who among the inmates of the monastery in that year would be competent to carry out such a work. The number of monks, English or foreign, in a great monastery, capable of writing annals or a history, was very small. The life of a monastery was represented only in an infinitesimal way by its *Scriptorium*. If we remember all this we shall, I think, be led to certain conclusions, which, though not entirely new, have not been as universally accepted by more recent writers on the subject as their cumulative force demands.

About the year 1040 there was born at Beauvais a certain Ernulph or Ernulf. He studied under Lanfranc at Bec, and subsequently became a monk of St. Lucian, at Beauvais, where he taught grammar. On the invitation of Lanfranc he came to England some time between 1072 and 1075, and joined the priory of Canterbury, where he continued to teach grammar, and after the accession of Anselm to the see of Canterbury, *i.e.*, after 1093, he became prior of the monastery there, a post he retained till the year 1107. In 1107, Ernulf became abbot of Burgh or Peterborough, and remained its abbot until 1114 or 1115. In 1115 he became Bishop of Rochester, where he died on the 15th of March, 1124, in his eighty-fourth year.² Hugo Candidus tells us in his history that he was a good monk, wise, and father of the monks, and in his time was joy, peace and prosperity. He is spoken of in similar terms in a notice of him in the *Peterborough Chronicle* in 1114.

During the time when he was abbot, two of the

¹ Liebermann, p. 13.

² Wm. of Malmesbury, *de Gest. Pont.* p. 234. the *Hist. Lit. de France*, x, 425,

and Wright, *Biographia Literaria*, II, 79.

monks were *secretarii* or sacristans, namely, Wictric and Reinald or Remald, surnamed *Spiritus*. The latter was probably a Norman, as his name suggests, and had probably been brought with him by Ernulf. We are told they held their office for thirty years, and under their care the number of sacred vessels and rich vestments was greatly increased. Wictric was the older of the two, and presently became infirm, and there-upon Reinald conducted the duties of the office till his death. In regard to his style of *Spiritus* we are told *ita vocabatur, quia parvus erat et spiritualis*. He had a brother named Hugo, surnamed Candidus, who thus also bore a Norman name and who became the historian of the abbey. In a chapter interpolated in his history, and referring largely to himself,¹ we are told that Hugo was professed as a monk at Peterborough by his brother when he was a young man (*in puerili aetate*), and that he always cherished and revered his elder brother. It further describes how he suffered from some form of dysentery when he was young, which caused him to lose a great deal of blood, from which he was cured by the prayers and attentions of his brother and the other monks. From his white and anæmic face he was styled Candidus. I have already quoted Hugo's statement that he was an eyewitness of the great fire in the abbey in 1116. In another notice of the relics in the abbey he has a further reference to himself. Thus he says of them :

"Super omne aurum preciosum est, dextrum brachium Sancti Oswaldi regis, et martyris, integrum in carne et cute manens, juxta votum benedictionis Sancti Aydani episcopi, quod nos oculis nostris inspeximus et osculati sumus et manibus tractavimus et lavimus, cum ostensum fuisset Alexandro Lincolniensi episcopo, et toti conventui et plurimis aliis clericis et laicis, tempore Martini Abbatis in quadragesima die annunciationis dominicæ anno ab interfectione ejusdem martyris cccclxxxvii."

¹ He then adds some verses, clearly his own, but, as in other cases, attributes them modestly to an anonymous writer,² "in cujus laude quidam hos versiculos veraci voce edidit;" in a later page he mentions that in the same casket (*capsula*) as the arm of St. Oswald

¹ Sparke, p. 68.

² Sparke, p. 34.

was a scapula of one of the Holy Innocents, “quam et nos aliquando vidimus, cum brachium fuisset ostensum Martyrro abbati et magnum miraculum evenerat una vice de ipsa. Nam erat quidam secretarius Burgi nomine Eilricus Cnorri in tempore abbatis Mathiæ, qui cum idem abbas non credidisse quod brachium integrum esset, jussit aperiri sibi capsulam, ac secretarius, cum non haberet manus aptas ad hæc tractanda, incaute accepit ipsam parvam scapulam, quæ et inter digitos ejus fracta est; statimque exivit sanguis ex ea et cecidit super pannuum in quo erat involuta; et ita recens est usque hodie, quasi hac die exisset; quod et oculis nostris vidimus.”¹ We are told in the interpolated chapter that he was greatly cherished by four of the abbots, namely, John, Henry, Martin and William, by whom he was promoted. Eventually he became sub-prior and “*primitus*” under Abbot Martin, and afterwards retained these posts under William de Waterville.

Hugo, in describing the last acts of his own life, tells us that on the death of Abbot Martin the monks met together, apparently preceded by Walter, the abbot of Ramsey, and selected twelve of their seniors to elect a successor. He himself being the senior of all administered an oath to the rest that they would act in the matter without any personal ends. They eventually elected one of them, William de Waterville, as their prior, and on the day following the funeral, his brother Reinaldus, who was then prior with him “Hugo Spiritus” (which probably meant himself) and the new abbot went to see the king at Oxford, who confirmed their choice. This is the last we hear of him from his own pen, but in the interpolated chapter already mentioned we read that he was dead when it was written. Its author further adds:

“Nunc vero sufficient hæc pauca de tanto tamque mirabili viro stylo agresti me perorasse, dicendum est quam gloriose.

Obiit tandem iste beatus, iste virtutibus ditatus.

Tempore Willelmi Abbatis.

Cujus anima fit in coelis prece Michaelis, Amen.”

It is, however, as the historian of the abbey that we are chiefly concerned with Hugo. In the first clause of

¹ *Id.*, 52.

that chapter we have the important sentence about him : " Qui modo defunctus est, qui etiam hunc libellum collegit collectumque scripsit." It seems plain that this chapter which is full of tender and pathetic references to him and to the terrible bodily suffering which his fragile health had caused him, could not have been written by himself, and that the jibes that Mr. English casts at him for his vanity were undeserved, and further that it was the handiwork of the later writer, Walter de Whittlesea. As he died in the time of Abbot William it is equally plain that he could not have been the author of the three concluding paragraphs of the history as printed by Sparke, the first of which describes the deposition of William. For the same reason there cannot be attributed to him two paragraphs on the preceding page to this, commencing with the words *Plane a domino Henrico*, and ending with *vicesimo primo*, referring to the deposition of the same abbot and having no apparent connection with what stands in front of it.

On the subject of Hugo's date some serious misapprehensions exist. Leland in his life of him,¹ says : " Perduxit autem historiam usque ad imperium Henrici tertii, regis Angliæ, quo tempore vixisse illum credibile est." John Bale, in his *Scriptorum Britannicæ centuria tertia*, quotes Leland's statement with approval, and adds : " Claruit anno nati Salvatoris MCCXVI sub rege Joanne." John Pitseus in his work, *de illustribus Anglice scriptoribus*, ætat XIII, an MCCXVII, also quotes Leland approvingly, and adds : " Claruit anno post Christum hominem factum MCCXVII, inchoante regnum apud Anglos Henrico tertio." Vossius² makes him flourish in the later years of John, while Joscelyn says : " Illum dicit, historiam Petroburgensem diligenter collegisse et perduxisse usque ad imperium Henrici tertii." All these statements are mistaken and are based on the confusion of Henry the Third with his grandfather Henry the Second, down to whose reign the *Chronicle*, known under the name of Hugo Candidus, originally extended. For confirmation of this we may refer to another fact. The MS. described by Sparke as in Hugo's

¹ *Libri de Scriptoribus Britannicis*,
c. 265.

² *De Historicis Latinis*, 454.

autograph was clearly that in the Cottonian Library, labelled Otho A 17, which was completely destroyed in the Cotton fire, and is thus described in the 1696 catalogue, fols. 21-76 :

“Historia Coenobii Petriburgensis a prima fundatione ad annum Ch. 1220, aut. circiter, in qua traetat auctor de Antiquitatibus de situ loci de chartis Regiis et Pontificalibus de reliquis sacris, de Abbatibus, etc.”

In the report on the Cotton fire of 1732 is the following note to this volume: “The late John Bridges, Esq., of *Lincolns Inn* had a copy of this whole book” —with the further MS. note:—“No portion of this MS. (i.e., of the burnt MS.) has been found.” It is almost certain that a transcript of this autograph is preserved in the late paper MS. of Hugo Candidus in the Canterbury public library. It is remarkable that the last three paragraphs of Sparke’s text of Hugo Candidus are wanting from this transcript.

It will be noted in further support of this contention that there is no entry in Hugo’s *Chronicle*, as printed by Sparke, relating to William de Waterville’s long tenancy of the abbey, and that there is a complete jump of twenty years from the date of that abbot’s accession to that of his deposition without a single reference. This would be almost incredible if Hugo himself had been responsible for the paragraphs I have criticised, and which are clearly interpolations. It seems plain, therefore, that the work of Hugo Candidus on the history of Peterborough Monastery was brought down to 1155 and no further. What is more remarkable for our purpose is that 1155 is also exactly the year when the so-called *Peterborough Chronicle* itself terminates. Inasmuch as Hugo had joined the abbey, and had been professed a monk in the time of Abbot Ernulf, i.e., 1107-1114 (that is more than seven years before the first writing in the *Chronicle* ends), it is plain that that *Chronicle* was all of it written during the time when Hugo Candidus was living in the abbey and that he was old enough to have written it. Not only was he then living there, but so far as we have any evidence he was the only historian or scholar then an inmate of it, so that in every respect he seems

to fulfil the requirements we need in the compiler of the so-called *Peterborough Chronicle*. The view that he was its compiler as well as the author of the history is not entirely new. It was, in fact, first suggested as possible by Hickes, the author of the *Thesaurus*, and the first really scientific writer on Anglo-Saxon, a man of great judgment and learning. Hickes, speaking of the author of the *Peterborough Chronicle*, says: "Nec mirum unquam videatur, monachum Petroburgensem, qui hoc Chronicon partim transcribit et partim composuit, sive is Hugo Candidus alias White, qui floruit anno mcccc, etc." Hickes, *Thesaurus*, p. 139.

Mr. English, whose anonymous dissertation on the *Chronicle* I have quoted several times, while attributing the annals from 1132–1155 to Hugo Candidus, attributes the rest of the compilation to his brother Reinald, whom we do not know as a writer at all, and I can see no reason whatever for duplicating the authorship of the book. Thorpe, again, in discussing the annal of 1114, says, "it was probably the work of a friend of Ernulfus to whom we owe the *Textus Roffensis*."¹

That Hugo Candidus was the compiler of the insertions in the *Chronicle* may be strongly supported by comparing the Saxon text of the latter with the Latin text of his history, which it so closely follows, occasionally condensing and occasionally amplifying the corresponding narrative, so that if the insertions in the *Chronicle* were abstracted and put beside each other in a continuous story they would form a double of the history. His Latin, as Mr. English says, gives the precise sense as the English, and his censure and praise of the abbots, when it differs a little in form, is an echo of the same spirit. Nor is it altogether to be forgotten that the two abbots whom Hugo singles out for special praise were his first patron, Abbot Ernulf, and Martin who appointed him sub-prior. Another small but effective piece of evidence is to be found in the fact that the uncommon name Merivald which is quoted in the annal of 656 in the Saxon rescension, but not in the Latin original charter, is mentioned by Hugo.² *Primâ facie*, therefore, it seems almost certain that the compiler of the *Peterborough*

¹ *Op. cit.*, 370, note.

² Sparke, 37.

Chronicle and the historian of the abbey were the same person. This conclusion would long ago have been adopted had it not been for the mistaken views about the actual chronology of Hugo's career, to which I have above called attention. He was, so far as we know, the only person in the Peterborough Monastery capable of doing the work.

We can, I think, support this view by one or two rather potent facts. As we have seen, and as Mr. English long ago shrewdly suggested, Reinald and his brother Hugh, who bore Norman and not English names, were probably Frenchmen or Normans, and did not therefore speak English as their original mother-tongue but as an acquired speech. Hugo's limitation in the knowledge of English as exemplified in his own history was pointed out by the late Thomas Wright in his life of him in the *Biographia Literaria*, where he gives some specimens of his wrong translations; thus he translates Cruland (*i.e.*, Croyland) by *cruda terra* instead of *terra corvorum*, and *bucces* by *haedos* instead of *cerros*.¹ Wright quotes these mistranslations as evidence that Hugo Candidus did not know the language sufficiently well to have been the author of the interpolations in the *Chronicle* and of some of its later clauses. This, however, does not seem quite consequent, for if he did not write the *Chronicle* he certainly wrote the History, which on Wright's own theory was largely a direct translation from the English of the *Chronicle*. There is, however, in an insertion in the *Peterborough Chronicle* a mistranslation which is exactly on all fours with those quoted by Wright from the history of Hugo Candidus, namely, the etymology of Medeshamstede there given. In the very first of the interpolations in the *Peterborough Chronicle*, namely, that of 654, we read of the founders of the monastery that "they named it Medeshamstede because there is a well (*wael*) at this place, which is called Medes wael." This is clearly a mistranslation, as Smith long ago pointed out in his edition of Bede iv, 6, who gives the true explanation of it, namely, *locus habitationis in pratis*, a dwelling among the meadows. This is a remarkable coincidence, but it is not the only evidence that the compiler of the *Chronicle* was a foreigner and not an Englishman.

¹ *Biog. Lit.* 177.

It has been frequently urged that the closing annals of the *Peterborough Chronicle* are very interesting to the students of English, since they are supposed to present us with specimens of the tongue when it was undergoing rapid decay, and was being therefore greatly demoralized. This conclusion does not seem to me to be justified by the evidence. Language, when it changes, changes gradually, and not by violent jumps. Now the most remarkable fact about the *Peterborough Chronicle* is that a large part of it is written in a perfectly normal and classical form of Anglo-Saxon speech, and this right down to the twelfth century, there being little or no variation in it. It is this part of the text written in normal Anglo-Saxon which is the nucleus and substantial part of the *Peterborough Chronicle*, while it is only the insertions which are written in an utterly corrupt speech which is again found in some of the later annals. It is clear that if these interpolations represent a form of normal speech, spoken anywhere at the time of their composition, there must have been side by side, and quite contemporaneously, a language preserving its primitive qualities and one utterly decayed, and both of them used by literary men in such important documents as the official annals of a great monastery. Such a conclusion seems to me absurd. Beside the matrix of the *Peterborough Chronicle* as evidence of the subsistence of perfectly normal Saxon down to the twelfth century, there may be quoted the fragment of a now lost *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which was discovered by Dr. Zupitza in the Cottonian MS., Dom. A, ix. This contains some annals of the years 1113 and 1114, that is to say, of a period very near that of the compilation of the *Peterborough Chronicle*. Mr. Plummer says of its language: "The purity of the diction and grammar is in striking contrast with the corruption of E. We have, *e.g.*, midwinter, kinhelm instead of 'Christmas,' Nativity,' 'crown'; on maintains its place against the tendency in E to the use of "of," *e.g.*, "abb of Burh" i, 245, E. "Either then," he continues, "there must have been places where the language escaped the corruptions to which it was exposed at Peterborough, or the Anglo-Saxon renaissance, of which

Professor Earle speaks (*Charters*, p. 348), must have come earlier than the close of the twelfth century." Elsewhere the same writer says, the language (of the fragment) is much more classical than we should expect at this date and is another warning that we must not take the latter parts of E as a type of the Saxon written in all the religious houses in the twelfth century.¹ I believe there is another explanation of the facts which has occurred to earlier writers, namely, that the language used by the compiler of MS. E in his translations and in the continuations of that *Chronicle* was not the normal speech of the folk at Peterborough when it was written, but was the English of foreign monks who had not learnt the language properly, and only spoke it and wrote it incorrectly, and that the normal speech of those who conversed in the vernacular at this date is represented by the language of Zupitza's fragment, and of the matrix of MS. E. There is another argument available in the same behalf. It is a notable fact, which was first noticed, I believe, by Earle that in certain places in the *Peterborough Chronicle* where the English is rude and has been treated as a proof of its being late, a corrector has been at work showing that it was considered negligent English even at the time; thus in the annal for 1124 he has corrected *heftunege* to the literary form *heftnunge*, and has supplied a "was," showing that "weas" or even "waes" was not according to approved orthography.²

We cannot doubt in fact that in the fen country, where the last great stand of the English race took place, the most conservative tradition in regard to English would be preserved, and that if it had been an Englishman from Peterborough who compiled the *Peterborough Chronicle* its English would have been good English and not this broken speech. As I have said, we have specimens to show what the good English of the time really was. On the other hand, the language of the compiler has the marks of being a Frenchman's English. This Mr. English acutely observed long ago. Thus he says, "we are not to take the last years of the *Chronicle* as a sample of the English of the time, but as a specimen of

¹ *Id.*, ii, § 29.

² *Op. cit.*, Intr., xlix.

the broken English of a French monk." The turn of the sentences seems to be French. In the annal of 1127 we read "Sothfeste men heom kepten on nihtes." "*Des hommes croyables les veillèrent par nuit.*" "Saeidon thes the heom thulite," "*qu'il lui sembloit.*" Mr. English further says, "the characters, in which Codex Laud are written are *but bastard English*. Small, and very neat, and having much the same affinity to our national mode of penmanship as French writing has at present. In proof of this, compare the Laud MS. with either of the copies Tiberius A vi, B. 1, B. iv, all of them the work of English copyists." That the language of the insertions and the continuations is that of a foreigner and not the standard English of the time has also occurred to a later writer, who has done a great deal for the text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, namely, Thorpe. Speaking of the insertion of 1116, he says it was *very probably the composition of a foreigner*. Again, in regard to the annal of 1132 he says: "Here evidently a new scribe begins, *apparently a foreigner.*"

There is, therefore, very substantial evidence for making the compiler of the *Peterborough Chronicle* a foreigner and not an Englishman. This would account for another fact. It is generally admitted by those who have studied this edition of the *Chronicle* that the compiler who inserted the local paragraphs and wrote some of the later annals, *i.e.*, those of 1114 and 1116, used a form of speech very like that used in some of the continuations, and notably those of the annals from 1126 to the end of the *Chronicle*, in which there are certain small differences pointing to some progressive change. Speaking of the series of annals after 1121, Professor Earle finds a certain difference when compared with the insertions of the earlier period which probably marks the increasing familiarity of a foreign student with English, thus he says:

"The diction of the inserted pieces cannot be said to be identical with that after 1121, for the insertions have a slovenliness all their own. I surmise that the drawing up of these instruments was committed to a separate person, who had perhaps special qualifications in that respect, and that the scribe copied his whimsical orthography with scrupulous fidelity, as it was that of legal documents."

A tendency to change the spoken speech as a man got more practised in it, and thus to destroy the homogeneity of his language, is precisely what we should expect in the case of a Frenchman or Norman who had joined a monastery as a youth and gradually acquired the tongue of his adopted country, but would not be the case with a native-born Englishman.

This analysis points, it seems to me, to one conclusion as inevitable, namely, that the *Peterborough Chronicle* as it stands (notwithstanding any slight changes in the writing) was compiled and put together by one man, and it seems that the only person to whom such a book can be ascribed is Hugo Candidus, who fulfils all the conditions necessary in its author. He was living in the monastery and of a competent age when the first part of the *Chronicle* was put together in 1122, and he was living in the monastery when it was concluded. He wrote a separate history of the abbey in Latin, which is in many cases a mere repetition of the English of the *Chronicle* in another tongue, and which ends at the same date as the *Chronicle*. In his history he deals with persons and events in the same way, and measures them by the same standards. The same materials apparently were used in compiling both, and lastly he was under special obligations to the two abbots whom he singles out both in the *Chronicle* and the history for special laudation, and he was in all probability a foreigner and not an Englishman by birth, which accounts for the peculiarity of his English.

If this view be sustainable it may perhaps enable us to carry our analysis of one part of this text of the *Chronicle* a little further, and to ascertain the authorship of the forged Latin documents translated in its earlier part, which, as we have seen, were almost certainly forged in the twelfth century.

It will be remembered that the earliest patron of Hugo Candidus was the Abbot Ernulf, a scholar and a literary man, but one against whom grave suspicions of literary dishonesty exist. It is very curious that at or about the time when he filled his three principal parts, those of prior of Canterbury, abbot of Peterborough, and bishop of Rochester, forged documents meant to enhance the

wealth or privileges of the two abbeys and the see over which he presided should have made their appearance. For forged charters of Egbert in the *Textus Roffensis*, which was compiled by Ernulf, see my memoir on the life and coins of Egbert.¹

If Ernulf was in fact the forger of the Latin charters just mentioned, or the inspirer of the forgeries, we cannot doubt that Hugo Candidus, who was his *protégé*, was privy to them, if not their actual author. It is, at all events, remarkable that the compiler of the *Chronicle*, whoever he may have been, whether Hugo Candidus or not, should in some cases, as we have seen, in converting the Latin into Anglo-Saxon, have further sophisticated the terms of the language by enlarging and exaggerating the privileges supposed to be granted by the Latin charters.

Having thus tried to identify the compiler of the *Peterborough Chronicle* with Hugo Candidus and analyzed his handiwork, I hope in a succeeding paper to examine the matrix of the *Peterborough Chronicle* apart from, and denuded of, the excretions and insertions of the compiler (whom I have identified with Hugo), and to compare its text with that of other copies of the *Chronicle*.

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1908, p. 224.

ON THE TRANSITION BETWEEN THE PALAEOLITHIC AND NEOLITHIC CIVILIZATIONS IN EUROPE.¹

By ROBERT MUNRO, LL.D.

The story of mankind, as disclosed by their teleological inventions and the ingenuity displayed in adapting themselves to the vicissitudes of the changeable environment which obtained in Europe during the Quaternary period, forms a unique chapter in the history of the organic world. In exploiting the trail of their existence throughout the dim vista of bygone ages, as revealed by the waifs and strays which they have dropped by the way, there is one special characteristic applicable to all their productions which must be steadily kept in mind in dealing with such an inquiry, and that is, that every object bears the impress of the skill and intelligence of its manufacturer. On this assumption it follows that the tools, weapons, ornaments, and other relics of the prehistoric inhabitants of the world, form a graduated scale of the progressive culture and civilization of their owners. This is the magic key by which the long hidden secrets of past humanity are now being unlocked. Owing, however, to the inevitable disintegration, which sooner or later overtakes all organic compounds, only a few of their handicraft products have resisted the gnawing tooth of time to the present day. For this reason the most ancient human relics now extant consist of objects made of such durable material as flint and other hard stones, which are incidentally met with on the highways and haunts of their primeval owners, or intentionally disinterred from the dust-bins of ages.

The evidential materials, available in the discussion of the special problem which forms the heading of this article, are based on a combination of facts derived from stratigraphy, archaeology and palaeontology, which, being supplementary to each other, strengthen the final

¹ Read before a Meeting of the Institute on June 6th, 1903.

deduction in proportion to the amount of agreement between the respective results elicited from these different lines of research. But, unfortunately, the data which might have been forthcoming, through one or other of these departments, are often wanting, or too fragmentary to be of ethnical value—a condition of things which has sometimes led the most competent explorers to formulate conclusions on insufficient grounds. Apparently, this accounts for the diversity of opinion which has long permeated archaeological circles with regard to the relation between the Palaeolithic and Neolithic civilizations of Europe. Before proceeding to the discussion of the main question a few preliminary remarks are necessary, by way of defining the special characteristics of the two civilizations and so as to bring into relief the nature of the so-called *hiatus* which, according to some authorities, separates them.

The two chief sources of our knowledge of the earliest inhabitants of Europe are, (1) some ancient river gravels containing stone implements and bones of extinct animals reposing at various heights on the slopes of present, or former, river valleys, the waters of which now flow at considerably lower levels: and (2) a number of caves, rock-shelters and other inhabited sites, which have yielded to the explorer not only stone implements but other objects made of various materials, as well as a heterogeneous mass of food-refuse, chiefly the broken bones of the wild animals on which their occupants feasted. Little is known ethnologically of the Drift-men, beyond the fact that they manufactured rude stone implements generally made of flint, and mostly of the type known in France as the *coup de poing*. This is supposed to have been the earliest type of hand implement invented, and, from its wide distribution in the Old World, must have been regarded by the then civilized world as the *ne plus ultra* of human craftsmanship. On the other hand, the relics of the Cave-men are so numerous, varied and suggestive, that the progressive march of their owners to a higher state of culture can be pictorially portrayed by the slow accretions which time and experience have made to the development of their mechanical tools. At the close of the Palaeolithic period

in Central Europe they developed a remarkable taste for art, and cultivated its principles so effectually that they have bequeathed to us a veritable art gallery of over 400 pieces of sculpture and engraving, so true to their natural models that many of them compare favourably with analogous works of the present day. They also, in some instances, adorned the walls of the caverns they frequented with incised outlines of the neighbouring fauna and made colour drawings of them in black and ochre.

There is a consensus of opinion among archaeologists that the implements of the Drift gravels are older than those of the caves, one reason for this statement being that the former are ruder in point of execution than the latter; also that the *coup de poing*, in the few instances in which it has been found in caves, was invariably located in a stratum beneath the *débris* which contained characteristic relics of the Cave-men.

On this point Professor Boyd Dawkins writes as follows :

“In the course of this chapter we have seen that the River-drift implements in the caves of Cresswell Crags, of Kent’s Hole, and of the Grotte de l’Eglise, are found in the strata below those with the implements of the Cave-men, and consequently that the River-drift men lived in Britain and France before the Cave-men. We have also noted that the latter are in a different stage of culture from that which was enjoyed by the former, the implements being not only better, but, taken as a group, of a different kind, although some simple forms, such as the flake, scraper, and hammer-stone, are common to both.” (*Early Man in Britain*, p. 230.)

M. Gabriel de Mortillet adopted a method of classifying relics of the Palaeolithic period which is practically founded on the technical skill disclosed in their manufacture. The progressive stages of culture in the chronological sequence thus established he divided into five epochs, viz., *Chelléen*, *Moustérien*, *Solutréen* and *Magdalénien*, names derived from those of the most typical stations then known. According to this nomenclature the earliest troglodytic station was *le Moustier*, situated on the left bank of the Vezère (Dordogne). During its habitation by man the climate was cold and damp, and among the contemporary fauna were the mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, cave-bear, and musk-ox.

The special features of the industrial remains of this period were the scarcity of the *coup de poing*, and the splitting up of flints into smaller tools, such as scrapers, trimmed flakes, etc. The next station in ascending order was the open-air encampment of Solutré (Saône-et-Loire). The stage of civilization here disclosed was characterised by great perfection in the art of manufacturing flint implements, especially spear- and lance-heads in the form of a laurel leaf, and by the abundance of horses and reindeer which were used by the inhabitants as food. The climate was mild and dry, the great glaciers were on the wane, and the rhinoceros seems to have disappeared from the scene. The third and last of the typical stations was the well-known rock-shelter of La Madelaine (Dordogne), characterised by the abundance of objects made of bone and horn, the development of a remarkable artistic talent, the predominance of a northern climate and fauna, and the extinction of the mammoth towards the close of the period.

Concurrent with these evolutionary improvements in the social conditions and resources of the Palaeolithic people there were marked changes in the environment—physical, geological, and climatal—which prove that there was a vast interval of time between the River-drift men and the later Cave-men of France. When Neolithic tribes first appeared in Europe the physical causes, which were slowly affecting the distribution of land and water, had already moulded the European continent to about the same limits as it now possesses, one marked change being that the British Isles were no longer part of it. This indicates a short chronological range for Neolithic civilization in comparison with that for the Palaeolithic, as suggested by the time that has rolled past since the high river gravels were deposited and the valleys excavated to their present levels. It is, however, the striking contrast between the ways, works, and methods of living of the two peoples which has been chiefly adduced as the principal argument in support of the theory that their respective civilizations had no evolutionary connection. But it does not follow from the disparity of the relics, however great, that the two races had not set eyes on each other. What better

parallel could be instanced than the Red Indians and modern Americans, whose civilizations are so different that, if estimated by their respective implements, weapons, tools, and ornaments, they might be said to be separated by a long interval of time; and yet they have lived together for centuries. M. Gabriel de Mortillet, in bringing his system of classification (as above described) before the members of the International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology in 1872, thus expresses his views :

“Entre les diverses époques paléolithiques, on suit le développement régulier et logique de l'industrie; on en trouve des transitions et des passages. Des degrés, des points intermédiaires, peuvent encore faire défaut, mais on sent, on reconnaît, qu'il y a suite continue. Il n'en est plus de même entre le paléolithique et le néolithique, entre le Magdalénien et le Robenhausien. Il y a là une large et profonde lacune, un grand hiatus; il y a une transformation complète.”

“Avec le Magdalénien disparaissent les animaux quaternaires, le Grand Ours, le Mammouth, le Mégacère; avec le Magdalénien émigrent les espèces des régions froides qui peuplaient nos plaines; le Renne, le Gluton, le Bœuf musqué, remontent vers le pôle; le Chamois, le Bouquetin, la Marmotte, gagnent le sommet neigeux de nos montagnes.

“Avec le Robenhausien (néolithique) ont apparu non seulement les instruments en pierre polie, mais encore la poterie, les monuments, dolmens et menhirs, les animaux domestiques et l'agriculture. C'est donc un changement complet.” (*Compte Rendu* (1872), p. 440.)

The doctrine here advocated by De Mortillet was then held by a majority of the ablest palaeontologists of the day, at the head of whom stood Edward Lartet. Dr. Broca, however, and a few others, maintained that the flint tools of the later Palaeolithic stations and those of Neolithic times were not so dissimilar as to justify the idea that there was any break in the continuity of this industry in Europe; and further, that there was valid evidence to show that the extremely dolichocephalic race of the sepulchral caverns of the Lozère (Baumes Chaudes, l'Homme Mort, etc.), so well explored by Dr. Prunières, were the descendants of the Cave-men.

At the meeting of the same Congress held at Stockholm (1874), M. Cazalis de Foudouze reviewed the *hiatus* problem, in all its aspects, in a masterly paper entitled “*Sur la Lacune qui aurait existé entre L'âge de la pierre taillée et celui de la pierre polie,*” in which he

combated De Mortillet's theory on every point. His general conclusions were that the transition from the one civilization to the other was slow, but without interruption since the commencement of the Palaeolithic period down to the present day; that towards the close of that long period two or more different races had combined and ultimately developed the primary elements of Neolithic civilization; that the ameliorated climate attracted from time to time new immigrants who imported improved elements into the arts and industries; and finally, that the incoming tribes gradually absorbed the indigenous people of the old Stone Age, thus accounting for the persistence of the marked ethnic peculiarities of the Palaeolithic race in the populations of Europe of the present day.

Before considering subsequent and more recent investigations, bearing on the solution of this problem, it may be interesting to note the opinions held on the subject by one or two British anthropologists.

Writing in 1872, Sir John Evans thus expresses himself:—"There appears, in this country at all events, to be a complete gap between the River-drift and Surface Stone Periods, so far as any intermediate forms of implements are concerned; and here at least the race of men who fabricated the latest of the Palaeolithic implements may have, and in all probability had, disappeared at an epoch remote from that when the country was again occupied by those who not only chipped out, but polished their flint tools, and who were, moreover, associated with a mammalian fauna far nearer resembling that of the present day than that of Quaternary times." (*Ancient Stone Implements, etc.*, p. 618.)

Professor Huxley, in discussing the problem in his essay on the Aryan question (1890), was unable to take a side in the controversy, though the continuity of the races seemed to him the more likely to be right.

"As I have already mentioned," he writes, "there is not the least doubt that man existed in north-western Europe during the Pleistocene or Quaternary epoch. It is not only certain that men were contemporaries of the mammoth, the hairy rhinoceros, the reindeer, the cave bear, and other great carnivora, in England and in France, but a great deal has been ascertained about the modes of life of our predecessors. They were savage hunters, who took advantage of such natural shelters as overhanging rocks and caves, and perhaps built themselves rough wigwams; but who had no domestic animals, and have left no sign that they cultivated plants. In many localities there is evidence that a very considerable interval—the so-called *hiatus*—intervened between the time when the Quaternary or Palaeolithic men occupied particular

caves and river basins, and the accumulation of the *débris* left by their Neolithic successors. And, in spite of all the warnings against negative evidence afforded by the history of geology, some have very positively asserted that this means a complete break between the Quaternary and the recent populations—that the Quaternary population followed the retreating ice northwards and left behind them a desert which remained unpeopled for ages. Other high authorities, on the contrary, have maintained that the races of men who now inhabit Europe may all be traced back to the Great Ice Age. When a conflict of opinion of this kind obtains among reasonable and instructed men, it is generally a safe conclusion that the evidence for neither view is worth much. Certainly that is the result of my own cogitations with regard to both the *hiatus* doctrine (in its extreme form), and its opposite—though I think the latter by much the more likely to turn out right. But I hesitate to adopt it on the evidence which has been obtained up to this time.” (*Collected Essays*, vol. vii, p. 318.)

Mr. J. Allen Brown contributed to the Anthropological Institute (1892) an elaborate paper “On the continuity of the Palaeolithic and Neolithic periods,” in which his line of argument is thus stated :

“The supposed break in the continuity of the Stone Age in this country is bridged over by the discovery of implements of later Palaeolithic type and of others which from their form may be regarded as of transition or intermediate age, in some combs and dry valleys associated with deposits of chalk and flint rubble in parts of Sussex, as well as with other accumulations and formations to which I shall refer as being of more recent date than the high level river drifts. The gradual change in mammalian life which appears to have accompanied these higher stages of the Stone Age will also be considered.” (*Journal*, vol. xxii, p. 67.)

A *primâ facie* objection to Mr. Brown’s method is that no legitimate inference can be drawn from a graduated series of stone implements picked up on the surface, as in all large finds and workshops of Neolithic implements a sufficient number of unfinished, or roughly made, specimens may be readily found which, in appearance, can be paralleled with the later Palaeolithic types.

In the following year (1893), and at the same Society, Professor Boyd Dawkins read a paper “On the relation of the Palaeolithic to the Neolithic period” in which his opinion is thus stated :

“If, however, the results as I read them, over the whole of Europe, point to the great interval dividing the Palaeolithic from the Neolithic Age, and to the great geographical break between them, still more shall we find these conclusions confirmed by the contrast between the Palaeolithic and Neolithic civilizations. On the one hand—it is

unnecessary to labour the minute details—the Palaeolithic man lived by hunting the wild animals on the Pleistocene continent, armed with rude implements of stone and bone, and ignorant of all the domestic animals, including the hunting dog. He was a fire-using nomad, without fixed habitation. On the other hand, the Neolithic man appears before us a herdsman and tiller of the ground, depending on his domestic animals, and the cultivated fruits and seeds rather than on hunting; master of the potter's art, and of the mysteries of spinning, and weaving, and seeking the materials for his tools by mining. He lived in fixed habitations, and buried his dead in tombs. There is obviously a great gulf fixed between the rude hunter civilization of the one, and the agricultural and pastoral civilization of the other, a gulf which has not yet been bridged over by discoveries in any part of the world." (*Journal*, vol. xxiii, p. 248.)

In the evening address, "On man as artist and sportsman in the Palaeolithic period," which I had the honour of delivering at the Southport Meeting of the British Association (1903), I thus alluded to the *hiatus* theory :

"When the physical conditions which called into being the accomplishments and special attainments of Palaeolithic man had passed away, and the peculiar fauna of the glacial period disappeared from the lowlands of Central Europe—some by extinction, and others by emigration to more northern regions or to the elevated mountains in the neighbourhood—we find the inhabitants of these old hunting grounds in possession of new and altogether different sources of food. Finding the former supplies becoming so limited and precarious that it was no longer possible to live a roaming life, now gathering fruits and seeds, and now hunting wild animals, they fell somehow into the way of cultivating special plants and cereals, and rearing certain animals in a state of domestication. Whether this new departure was a product of the intelligence of the descendants of the Palaeolithic people of Europe, or derived from new immigrants into the country, is a debatable question. At any rate the expedient was eminently successful. It was in reality the starting point of Neolithic civilization, and henceforth there was a rapid increase in the population. They cultivated a variety of fruits, wheat, barley and other cereals; they reared oxen, sheep, goats, pigs, horses and dogs; they became skilled in the ceramic art, and in the manufacture of cloth by spinning and weaving wool and fibrous textures; they ground stone implements so as to give them a sharp cutting edge; in hunting the forest fauna of the period they used, in addition to spears, lances and daggers, the bow and arrow; they built houses, both for the living and the dead—thus showing that religiosity had become an active and governing principle among them. But of the artistic taste and skill of their predecessors they had scarcely a vestige, and whatever they did by the way of ornament consisted mainly of a few scratches, arranged in some simple geometrical pattern. The fundamental principles of the two civilizations are really so divergent that the Neolithic can hardly be regarded as a local development of the latest phase of that of the Palaeolithic period in

Europe. The probability is that, while the isolated colonies of reindeer hunters were still in existence, people, possibly of the same stock, were elsewhere passing through the evolutionary stages which connected the two civilizations together." (*Proc. R. S. Edinburgh*, vol. xxv, p. 123.)

It appears to me that the difficulty about this so-called *hiatus* arises partly from a misconception of the facts. Although the progress of the Palaeolithic people to a higher civilization had been extremely slow, still their handicraft products, at successive stages, indicate not only an advance in mechanical skill and execution of design, but a deeper insight into the phenomena of nature. Hence the magnitude of the differences observed between different groups of Palaeolithic remains, when contrasted with the products of Neolithic culture, must largely depend on the degree of civilization to which the owners of the former had attained. It is not an uncommon occurrence to come upon a cave containing Neolithic and Palaeolithic remains separated from each other only by a thick stratum of stalagmite, as for example in Kent's Cavern, in which case there can be no doubt that the facts prove a *hiatus*, representing a period of time which can only be estimated by great physical changes in the environment and the extinction of some of the local fauna. But, let us suppose a case where the two culture beds are not separated by stalagmite, and that we have satisfactory evidence that the owners were contemporary with each other, how would this condition of things affect the *hiatus* theory? In this case the *hiatus* would remain precisely as before, only the element of time would be reduced to the vanishing point. The difference of technical skill disclosed by these respective remains constitutes in many instances the only barrier which has not been bridged over. Indeed, it is the occasional absence of a transition stage between the two civilizations which forms the strongest argument in support of the current opinion that the Neolithic races were immigrants into Western Europe. I am not, however, aware of any evidence which actually negatives the idea that the Quaternary men of Europe survived till the arrival of the Neolithic tribes. If the former were absorbed peacefully by the latter the amalgamated population would necessarily adopt the mode of living

best adapted to the altered conditions of the environment, *i.e.*, Neolithic methods. The gradual disappearance of the reindeer and other mammalia would henceforth necessitate a complete change in their manner of living. The nomad hunter would soon sink into the herdsman, and the mechanic would readily lay aside his roughly chipped tools for those with finely ground and polished edges. On the other hand, should a few caves and rock-shelters in one or two favourite localities continue to be inhabited after the arrival of the Neolithic tribes on the scene there might be few traces of amalgamation to be found. Such points of contact have, however, been discovered in more recent times in various parts of the European Continent. It is on the validity of the evidence furnished by these transition stations that the *hiatus* problem must be finally solved. Stations with undisturbed stratified *débris* of the two civilizations are now so numerous that only a few of the more important can be here considered.

(1) *Mas-d'Azil.*

The late M. Ed. Piette was one of the most strenuous advocates of the existence of a transition period, evidence of which he had obtained in several caves and rock-shelters situated in the south-west of France among the rocky regions to the north of the Pyrenees, the most important of which is the Cavern of Mas-d'Azil (Ariège). A *résumé* of his researches on this site was brought before the 10th Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology held in Paris (1889), with the result that there was a consensus of opinion among the members that his discoveries proved that the interval between the two civilizations in that locality had been of short duration. Some of the more remarkable relics were exhibited at the meeting, where I had an opportunity of inspecting them. Subsequently (1895) M. Piette published a more detailed account of the structure and contents of the stratigraphical deposits at Mas-d'Azil (*L'Anthropologie*, vols. vi and vii), of which I subjoin a brief outline.

Above a stratum containing relics characteristic of the

Reindeer age, but beneath deposits with relics equally characteristic of the Neolithic period, he describes two beds the combined depth of which amounted to about



FIGS. 1-6.

Bone implements from the Cave of Mas-d'Azil, France. (Col. Piette.) ($\frac{2}{3}$)



FIGS. 7-10.

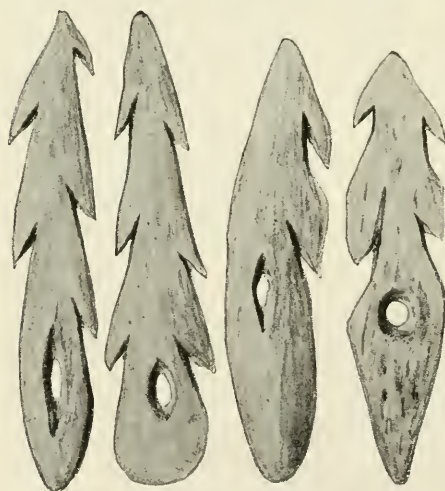
A bear's tooth, a horn chisel, a stone implement, and a bone pin from the Cave of Mas-d'Azil. (Col. Piette.) ($\frac{2}{3}$)

4 feet, which yielded the relics supposed to indicate a transition period.

The lower of these two beds was composed chiefly of ashes and wood-charcoal, intermingled with some fallen rocks. The thickness of this bed was $25\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and among its contents the following worked objects were found: flint knives and scrapers, a number of perforated deer-teeth arranged as if they had formed a necklet, also perforated teeth of various other animals (fig. 7); pins, polished pointers and spatulae of bone (figs. 1 to 6); barbed harpoons made of stag-horn, some being perforated at the butt-end with an oval or round hole, and others having the barbs on one side only (figs. 11 to 14); also a large number of pebbles of quartz or schist—such as could be picked from the bed of the river—some round-nosed and pestle-shaped, showing usage markings at one end (fig. 9), and others flat and oblong having various devices painted on them with peroxide of iron (fig. 15). The fauna was represented by bones of the stag, *Cervus canadensis*, roe-buck, chamois, ox, horse, common bear, wild-boar, badger, wolf, beaver, rat, and some birds and

fishes. Grains of wheat and a variety of fruit stones and seeds were also identified. The larger bones of two human skeletons, which appeared to have been buried after the flesh had been removed, had also been marked with red patches of the peroxide of iron.

Superimposed on this bed, but passing from it almost insensibly, were deposits of wood ashes ($23\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick) streaked with



FIGS. 11-14.

Harpoons made of stag-horn from the Cave of Mas-d'Azil. (Col. Piette.) ($\frac{2}{3}$)

bands of grey, white, and red, in which were imbedded quantities of land shells (*Helix nemoralis*), evidently the remains of repasts. These shell heaps were inter-

calated between the layers of ashes, and extended over several yards with a maximum depth of about 1 foot. In this bed (*Assise à escargots*) were also found harpoons and other relics similar to those in the bed of coloured pebbles; and in addition to these there were portions of small chisel-like implements of stone with sloping and abraded ends (fig. 16), but no regular stone axes—only in the superincumbent layers were the latter found; and above all were deposits containing objects of bronze and iron. It was also observed that the snail shells had become altered to the variety known as *Helix hortensis*, which, it is said, indicated a drier climate.

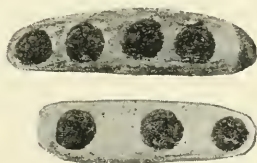


FIG. 15.

Pebbles painted with red spots from the Cave of Mas-d'Azil. (Col. Piette.) (½)



FIG. 16.

Flint implement with a polished cutting edge from the Cave of Mas-d'Azil. (Col. Piette.) (½)

According to M. Piette there were changes in the external environments which could be correlated with these successive deposits. As the Reindeer period passed away the climate became ameliorated but humid, as inferred from the presence of fruit trees and the cultivation of grain. The people appear to have lost their artistic taste for carving on bones, and instead of it they manufactured harpoons of red-deer horn without a trace of ornament, painted selected pebbles with quaint devices or mere lines and round spots (fig. 15), and practised some obscure sepulchral rites, in which the red paint on the desiccated bones seemed to play a part. M. Piette classified these painted stones into numerals, symbols, pictographs, and alphabetical characters, and to illustrate his views he issued a series of coloured plates showing the designs on some hundreds of these pebbles. Can there be any doubt about the genuineness of these pebbles?

The chief interest in the discoveries at Mas-d'Azil lies

in the harpoons of red-deer horn, the real significance of which had then, for the first time, been recognised, although a few specimens had already been found in one or two other caves and rock-shelters of the district. Since then, however, they have been discovered in considerable numbers, and are regarded as typical relics of the transition period. In face of these, and other rapidly accumulating facts, proving the existence of deposits of human *débris* containing relics stratigraphically proved to be later than those of the Reindeer period, but older than those of the polished Stone age, De Mortillet abandoned the *hiatus* theory and filled up the gap by adding a new epoch to his previous classification of the Palaeolithic age, which he called *Tourassien*, after the Grotte de la Tourasse (Haute-Garonne). This station was explored in 1891 by MM. Chamaison and Darbas, and yielded, along with a few other bone relics of intermediary forms, no less than a dozen harpoons of the kind now under review. The deposits in which they were found lay beneath a series of Neolithic burials. The flatness, which is characteristic of these harpoons, is due to the fact that the texture of red-deer horn is spongy in the interior, and consequently it is only the outside of the horn that is used in their manufacture. On the other hand, the harpoons of the Palaeolithic period have round stems and conical butts, with two projecting knobs close to the butt-end, instead of a hole, for keeping the string from falling away when the harpoon becomes eliminated from the handle. Altogether, they have a finer finish than the former, and show, either two rows of barbs, one on each side, or one row, having the barbs more closely set. The larger specimens are invariably made of reindeer horn, but the smaller ones are sometimes made of bone. They are widely distributed on all the Magdalénien stations on the Continent. A specimen has been found in Kent's Cavern.

(2) *La Grotte de Reilhac.*

Another station which has yielded flat harpoons is the Grotte de Reilhac (Lot), described by MM. Cartailhac and Boule (1889). Although the circumstances in which

the Reilhac specimens have been found are not so definite as to give them a precise chronological value, the facts are by no means inconsistent with the opinion that they belonged to the same age as those from Mas-d'Azil. The contents of the cave having been largely removed by the proprietor before the matter came under the notice of the explorers, there remained only a small portion of undisturbed material from which the relative sequence of the deposits could be ascertained. So far as the contents of the deposits were determined, they were as follows, from above downwards :



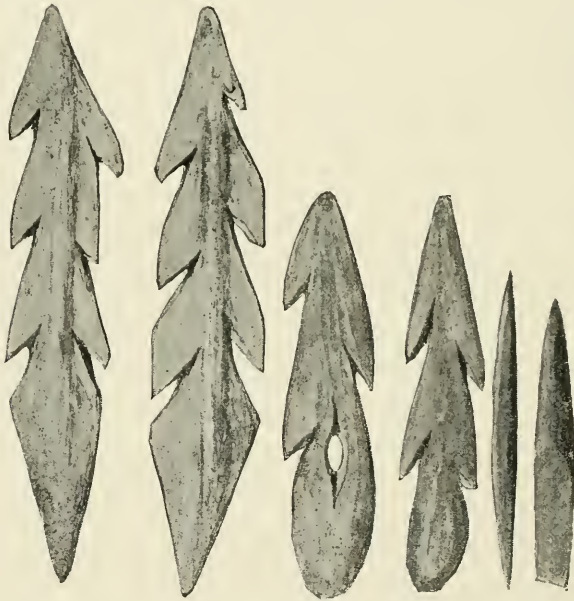
- (a) A bed of blackish earth containing clay, charcoal, angular pieces of the limestone rock, and shells (*Helix nemoralis*), mostly very much broken. The soil, generally loose, was here and there cemented by stalagmitic deposits. Bones of the red-deer, ox, and horse, together with small worked flints and minute fragments of pottery, were also collected in it.
- (b) Then came a veritable *breccia* of rabbit bones, mixed with charcoal, ashes, and angular pieces of rock, the whole cemented by a stalagmitic matrix. It also contained, especially in its lower portion, the bones of larger animals, and one of the explorers found in it a portion of a slender bone ornamented by cut notches like a tally stick.
- (c) The next stratum was of great thickness (over 6 feet), and presented a reddish colour which it had gradually assumed. Its substance was a homogeneous clayey earth mixed with the usual angular fragments from the walls of the cave, in which were found many flint implements and worked bones, some of the latter being characteristic of the Reindeer period.

In classifying these three deposits according to the remains of the fauna collected in them, the authors state that the superficial layer (a) represented the Neolithic period, and that both (b) and (c) corresponded with the Reindeer age. After contrasting the scarcity of the remains of the reindeer with the abundance of those of

the red-deer, and commenting on the almost entire absence of the extinct and emigrated animals, they make the following remarks pertinent to the problem at issue :

“Cette absence totale d'animaux éteints et d'animaux localisés aujourd'hui dans les régions septentrionales, jointe à la rareté relative des ossements de Rennes, nous porte à penser que les dépôts à ossements de la grotte de Reilhac correspondent à la fin du Quaternaire supérieur, et peuvent être regardés comme se rattachant de très près à l'époque actuelle.” (*La Grotte de Reilhac*, 1889, p. 27.)

Considering the comparative lateness of the archaeological horizon here indicated, and the impossibility of assigning the worked bone and horn objects to their



FIGS. 17-22.

Four harpoons and two small implements made of the horns of Cervidae from the Grotte de Reilhac. ($\frac{2}{3}$)

precise position in the deposits—most of them having been discovered and dispersed among collectors before the authors came on the scene—it is peculiarly significant to find among them harpoons (figs. 17 to 20) so precisely similar to those from Mas-d’Azil. Their association with other harpoons characteristic of the Reindeer period is not, therefore, fatal to the theory that the former were

products of the Neolithic period. Indeed the same uncertainty hangs over most of the specimens of this type of harpoon found on Reindeer stations, partly due to the fact that their characteristic differences had not then attracted attention, and consequently they had not been recognised as belonging to a different civilization.

Another point of uncertainty about these harpoons is whether or not the flat specimens were exclusively made of red-deer horn. The butt-end of one, with an oval perforation, and described as made of reindeer horn, was found in La Madeleine (*Reliq. Aquitanicae*, p. 160, fig. 57); another, described as flat, with a round hole at the butt, and made of reindeer horn, is recorded from the Grotte de Vache and figured in *Musée Préhistorique* (fig. 187); and a third, flat and perforated (the material not stated), was found in Laugerie Basse (*Proc. R.S. Edinburgh*, vol. xxv, Pl. III, fig. 9). If, therefore, it be true that some of these flat harpoons were made of reindeer horn it only adds to the importance of this link between the two civilizations, as it proves that when the scarcity of the reindeer material was increasing the old Palaeolithic people gradually resorted to the horn of the red-deer as a substitute for making their harpoons, though inferior in quality to the former, and that they had already altered the form to suit the nature of the new material.

The flint implements found in the Reilhac settlement include types common to all the Palaeolithic epochs, as well as others which are considered to belong to the Neolithic age. Among the relics characteristic of the latter are polished stone axes, and the deer-horn sockets with which they were fastened into the wooden handle, grain bruisers, and fragments of pottery. Curiously enough a number of perforated phalangeal bones of the horse and ox, formerly supposed by Lartet and others to be whistles, are also noted. The station would thus appear to have been occupied with little interruption from Palaeolithic to Neolithic times.

(3) *The MacArthur Cave.*

The MacArthur Cave was discovered in 1894 by quarrymen while removing stones for building purposes from a

cliff facing the bay of Oban, and long regarded by geologists as marking the line of an old sea-beach. It was explored under the auspices of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and a report of the result was read by Dr. Joseph Anderson at a meeting of the Society on 11th March, 1895 (*Proc.*, vol. xxix).

The contents of the cave consisted (1) of a superficial layer of black earth, in which human remains were found, including two skulls, showing that its final purpose was a burial place; and (2) a food refuse heap composed of shells and the remains of animals, partly superimposed on, and partly intercalated with, sea gravel. This interesting *débris* is thus described by Dr. Anderson:

“It was found that underneath the layer of black earth there was a bed of shells, varying from 27 inches to about 3 feet in thickness, extending over the whole floor of the cave, and showing little or no intermixture of black earth or gravel, but here and there patches of ashes mixed with wood charcoal, and charred splinters of bone. Under this shell-bed was a bed of fine, clean gravel, composed entirely of small water-rolled stones. In this gravel, at the depth of about 18 inches (where the section was first made), there was intercalated a deposit of shells, which we at first spoke of as the lower shell-bed, but which proved to be of partial extent and unequal thickness, thinning out towards the sides and towards the mouth of the cave, and in several places presenting an irregular or patchy appearance in the section, as if the shells had been deposited in heaps or pockets in the gravel. Underneath this intercalated layer of shells the gravel extended for about 4 feet, or more, to the cave bottom, where it was mixed with large and small fragments of loose rock.”

Both upper and lower shell-beds were composed of the shells of edible species, found on the neighbouring shores, and of the bones of land and marine animals, the entire mass being a true refuse-heap, evidently the result of a lengthened occupation of the cave by people who fed on the fauna represented in it. The bones were for the most part broken into splinters, both for the purpose of extracting the marrow and of manufacturing bone implements, of which a large number was collected. The same shells and bones of the same species of animals, as well as

the varieties of bone implements, were found in both the upper and lower shell-beds.

All the implements recovered from the cave were made of bone or deer-horn, with the exception of three hammer stones, and twenty flints (three being natural nodules), mostly flakes and chips, "a few of which show secondary working, though none are really implements in the same sense of being fashioned and finished."



FIG. 23.

Bone pin. (Oban Cave.)
($\frac{1}{4}$)



FIG. 24.

Bone implement. (Oban Cave.) ($\frac{1}{2}$)

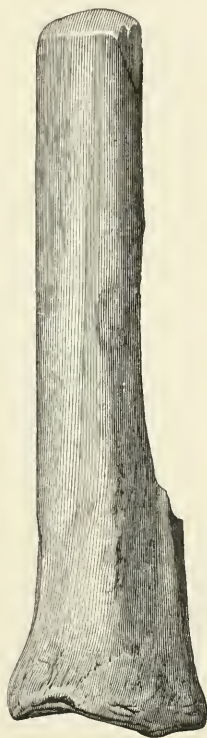


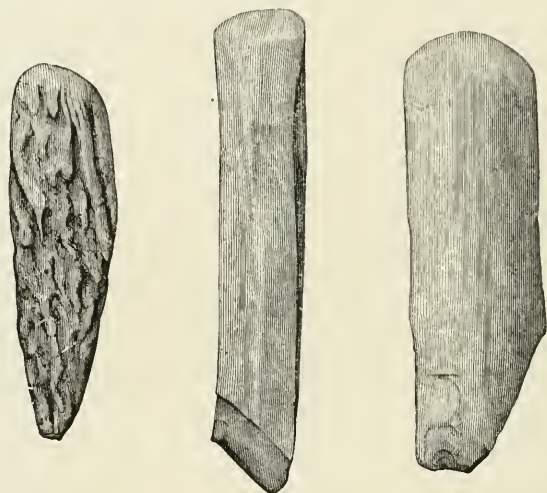
FIG. 25.

Implement made of leg-bone of a deer. (Oban.)
($\frac{3}{4}$)

The bone and horn implements consist of three pins (fig. 23), three borers (fig. 24), together with a few bone implements of a nondescript character, being merely pointed or flattened at the end; one hundred and forty "round-nosed," chisel-ended implements, having an extraordinary likeness to each other (figs. 25 to 28); and seven harpoons (two being entire) made of deer-horn. The

larger of the entire harpoons (fig. 30) is 6 inches long, has 4 barbs on each side and an oval perforation at the butt-end. The other (fig. 29) differs from it only in being smaller ($4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length) and having no perforation.

A mere glance at the illustrations of these bone implements, especially the harpoons, shows their striking similarity to those already described from Mas-d'Azil. No archaeologist can fail to be astonished at so remarkable a coincidence as that a group of human relics, from such widely separated localities as Oban and



FIGS. 26-28.

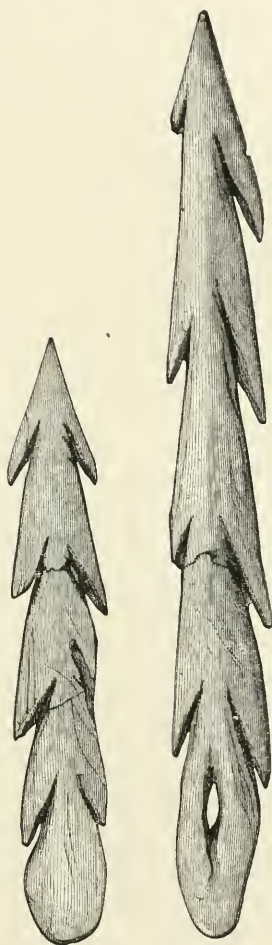
Implements of bone and deer-horn from the Oban Cave. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Mas-d'Azil, should be so similar. The harpoons agree, not only in the material of which they are made, viz., deer-horn, but also in the shape of the stem, the method of cutting the barbs, and the occasional presence of an aperture in the butt-end. We have seen that M. Piette assigned the Mas-d'Azil harpoons to an intermediate period between the Palaeolithic and Neolithic ages. Is the chronological horizon of the Oban troglodytes the same as the transition period of Mas-d'Azil? We are not without some suggestive data on this problem, as we shall now endeavour to show.

There is no probable natural phenomenon which more satisfactorily accounts for the intercalation of such a mass of clean sea-gravel between the two shell-beds in the Oban

Cave as that, during a storm, subsequent to the time when the cave had become a place of resort to man, the waves were forced into the cave, carrying with them a certain amount of shingle, which, after the abatement of the storm, had become the habitable floor of the cave, and over which the cave-dwellers again took up their quarters.

If this deduction be correct the importance of the Oban discovery cannot be over-rated, as it proves that man was an inhabitant of the district when the opening to the cave was on the sea-beach, and sufficiently near the water to permit the waves to enter it during a storm. The beach of to-day is, however, 100 yards distant, and the lower shell-bed lay fully 30 feet above present high-water mark; so that a change in the relative level of sea and land, to the extent of some 25 or 30 feet, must have taken place in that part of Scotland, since the troglodyte hunters of Oban feasted on the marine and land fauna of the district. But this is not the only evidence to prove that Scotland was inhabited by a race of people who manufactured implements of red-deer horn, and lived on shell-fish and such marine animals as chance or strategy brought within their reach, before the last land elevation took place. Implements of deer-horn, associated with the skeletons of whales, have been found in various parts of the valley of the Forth—localities which at the present time are the most highly cultivated in Scotland. The following is a brief report of these remarkable discoveries:



FIGS. 29 AND 30.
Harpoons made of deer-horn
from Oban Cave. ($\frac{2}{3}$)

(4) *Early Man in the Forth Valley.*

On the 17th September, 1889, Sir William Turner read a paper at the British Association, then held at Newcastle-on-Tyne, "On implements of stag's horn associated with whales' skeletons found in the Carse of Stirling." In this paper the author describes a perforated horn implement shaped like a hammer-axe head, 11 inches long, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in its greatest girth (fig. 31). It is truncated at one end and bevelled into a cutting edge at the other, the perforation being not in the middle, but about 2 inches nearer the truncated extremity than the cutting edge. When found there was still a portion of a wooden handle in the hole. It was discovered in 1877, resting on the skull of the skeleton of a *Balaenoptera*, exposed in the course of drainage operations on the estate of Meiklewood, a few miles west of Stirling.



FIG. 31.

Hammer-axe head of stag's-horn, found with a whale's skeleton at Meiklewood, near Stirling. ($\frac{1}{3}$)

It is recorded that in 1819, and in 1824, implements of deer-horn, two of which had been perforated with a round hole, as if for a handle, had been discovered, along with the skeletons of whales, but they appear to have been lost. Sir William sums up his interesting report on these discoveries as follows :

"The discovery of those implements proves that, when the fertile land now forming the Carse of Stirling was submerged below the sea level, the surrounding highlands were inhabited by a hardy Caledonian race, who manufactured from the antlers of the red-deer useful tools and weapons. I have already stated that there is nothing in the form of these implements to lead one to suppose that they could be used in the chase of the whale as lances or harpoons. It is probable that the whales, by the side of which they were found, had been stranded during the ebb of the tide, and that the people had descended from the adjacent heights, and, with the aid of their chisels of horn, had spoiled the carcass of its load of flesh and blubber. In support of this view,

I may state that the three skeletons along with which the implements were found were lying in proximity to the edge of the Carse-land, where it approached the adjacent high ground.¹

As further evidence that prehistoric man wandered about the shores of these old inland seas, several shell-heaps have been observed along the bluff of the old shore-line on both sides of the Avon, just where it enters the Carse, a locality which is still called Inveravon, although the present mouth of the river is several miles distant. The following extract from *Memoirs of the Geological Survey* (sheet 31) gives a description of one of these shell deposits :

"A section," writes Dr. Peach, F.R.S., "across a heap, 50 yards long by 20 wide was exposed in a road cutting, and showed many successive layers of shells—principally oysters—to a depth of three feet without the bottom being visible. The remains of fire-places were plentiful among the shells. Oysters seemed to have been preferred by the makers of the midden, though they had also used *Anomia*, the big 'horse mussel' (*Modiola*), the common mussel (*Mytilus edulis*), the whelk (*Buccinum undatum*), and periwinkle (*Littorina littorea*). Fragments of the large edible crab (*Cancer pagurus*) were also present. All the valves of the oysters were separate, except such as had been empty, and which still had barnacles and zoophytes in their interior. The mussel and other shells were found in separate nests, and not indiscriminately throughout the mound. Layers of sand were also found among the shells. All the middens observed occur on the bluff itself, or just at its base, as if, when it was the limit of high water, the people who formed the middens, after searching the shores during low water, had retreated thither to enjoy their feast while the tide covered their hunting ground. Few or no oysters are now found in the Forth above Borrowstounness."

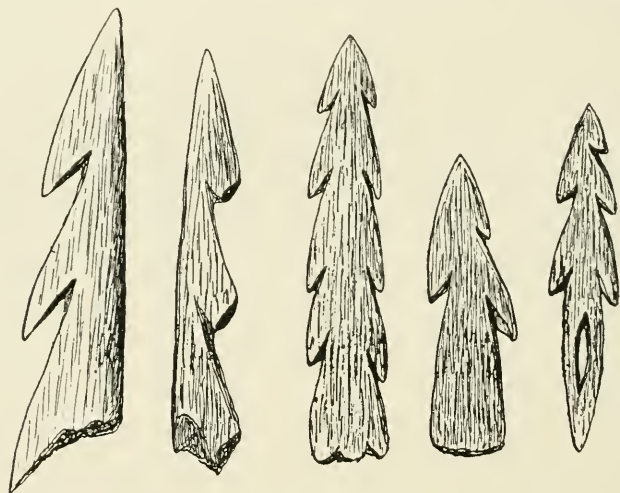
(5) *The Rock-shelter of Drummargie.*

In 1898, another discovery was made at Oban which yielded remains of human industry associated with a shell-heap and broken bones, precisely similar to those from the MacArthur Cave. This was a shelter situated at the base of a steep rock, called Drummargie, and overlooking a marsh in which, some years ago, the remains of what were supposed to be a lake-dwelling

¹ To those who wish to know further details of the discovery of these Carse whales, I recommend an article on the subject by Mr. David B. Morris, in which he gives the records of ten other

whale remains. The article was published in the *Proceedings of the Stirling Natural History and Archaeological Society* for 1892. See also *Prehistoric Scotland*.

were found. As the lowest portion of this marsh is only a few feet above high water mark it would have been an inland bay when the sea stood so high as to wash the entrance to the MacArthur Cave, so that the two stations would then have been on opposite sides of a small bay and, probably, be frequented by the same body of hunters. The floor of the shelter stood 34 feet above *datum* line, and its area measured some 10 feet square. The *débris* of human habitation and food refuse which became exposed on its floor had been covered over for ages by a deep talus. It was while clearing away this talus, preparatory to laying the foundations of a house, that the shell-heap and its relics were discovered. Among the relics were a few stone implements of water-worn pebbles, of an elongated shape and slantingly



FIGS. 32-36.

Harpoons from Druihvargie, Caisteal-nan-Gilleann, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne. (3)

abraded at one end, two or three bone borers, a portion of a deer-horn broken across a circular perforation, a number of "round-nosed," chisel-ended implements of bone, and the front portions of two harpoons, also of bone, but of the same type as the horn harpoons from the MacArthur Cave—differing from them only in having the barbs on one side (figs. 32 and 33). M. Piette also records unilateral-barbed harpoons from the Cave of Mas-d'Azil, and they are fairly common on the later

Palaeolithic stations, though made of reindeer horn. Hence the discovery of this variety at Oban only strengthens the remarkable analogy between these French and Scottish harpoons.

(6) *Shell-Heaps in Oronsay.*

Caisteal-nan-Gilleann.—Bone harpoons and implements of bone and stone, similar to those from the MacArthur Cave and the Rock-shelter of Drumnargie, have been found in a shell mound known as *Caisteal-nan-Gilleann*, in the island of Oronsay, explored by Mr. Symington Grieve and Mr. William Galloway. The results have been described by Mr. Grieve in his work on *The Great Auk, or Garefowl*; and by Dr. Joseph Anderson in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (vol. xxxii), after Mr. Galloway's collection had been acquired for the National Museum. *Caisteal-nan-Gilleann* is (or was) an isolated mound between a range of sand-dunes and the sea, measuring about 150 feet in diameter, and an average height of 25 feet. Its surface was covered with grassy turf, having blown sand underneath to a depth of from 1 to 5 feet. "Below this covering," writes Dr. Anderson, "an accumulation of shells and bones, in a series of layers, mingled with sand and ashes, extended downwards for a total depth of about 8 feet. Underneath this refuse-heap the substance of the mound consisted of blown sand in layers, the upper part of each line defined by a thin line of dark mould, with a few sea and land shells intermixed, but no implements or other remains of human occupancy."

The bone and horn implements found in this shell-heap consisted of eleven harpoon-heads (figs. 34 and 35), three bone awls, and no less than one hundred and fifty of the round-nosed, chisel-like implements, similar to those from the caves of Oban. The stone implements, numbering over two hundred, were elongated water-worn pebbles, worked at one end into the "round-nosed ending," so characteristic of both the stone and bone chisels. They are supposed to have been utilized by the people who formed this shell-heap as "limpet hammers." Besides the above named objects there were eight fragments of

perforated implements of deer-horn, and others roughly cut round the circumference and then broken across; two small anvil-stones measuring about 4 by 3 inches, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick; fifty chips and splinters of flint, but none that can be called a worked implement. With the exception of bones of the Great Auk, the organic remains were those of the existing fauna of the West Coast, among which may be specially mentioned—red-deer, otter, wild-boar, marten, grey and common seal; remains of one or two cetaceans; Great Auk, now extinct in Scotland; limpet, pecten, oyster, cockle, crab—all evidently used for edible purposes.

Other Shell-Heaps.—We are informed by Dr. Anderson that two other shell-heaps had been excavated by Mr. Galloway, in Oronsay, in which were found bone and stone implements, having the same features as those of Caisteal-nan-Gilleann. One of these stations was called *Croch Sligach*, i.e., the shelly mound, and the other *Croch Riach*, or grey mound. Among the relics from the former were thirty-six of the round-nosed chisels of bone and deer-horn, one hundred and fifty oblong water-worn pebbles with abraded ends, nine rounded pebbles, indented in the middle, supposed to be anvils, and ninety flint chips. It has been noted that the limpets here were exceptionally large, and that some of them were perforated, probably caused by the blow of the implement used to dislodge the mollusc from the rock. The *Croch Riach* collection contained twenty of the round-nosed chisels, fifty stone implements with the usual abraded and slanting ends, and some forty flint chips.

(7) *Shell-Heap on Inchkeith.*

Dr. T. B. Sprague exhibited at a meeting of the Scottish Natural History Society, in 1898, a large quantity of broken bones found in a shell heap or kitchen-midden, on the island of Inchkeith, near Edinburgh, among which were a few of the round-nosed bone chisels similar to those found on the shell-mounds of Oban and Oronsay. Being present at the meeting I took the opportunity of directing the attention of the members to the significance of this fact.

(8) *Sporadic Finds of Harpoons in Britain.*

Victoria Cave, near Settle.—A harpoon (fig. 37), of the same type as the Oban specimen, was found in the Victoria Cave, with regard to which Professor Boyd Dawkins thus writes :

“At the entrance the dark Romano-Celtic or Brit-Welsh stratum lay buried, as we have seen, under an accumulation of angular fragments of stone which had fallen from the cliff. It rested on a similar accumulation, which was no less than six feet thick, and at the bottom of this, at the point where it was on a stiff grey clay, a bone harpoon (fig. 37) was discovered, as well as charcoal ; a bone head, three rude flint flakes, and the broken bones of the brown bear, stag, horse and Celtic shorthorn (*Bos longifrons*). The harpoon is a little more than 3 inches long, with the head armed with two barbs on each side, and the base presenting a mode of screwing attachment to the handle which has not before been discovered in Britain. Instead of a mere projection to catch the ligatures by which it was bound to the shaft, there is a well-cut barb on either side, pointing in a contrary direction to those which form the head.” (*Cave-hunting*, p. 111.)

Newcastle-upon-Tyne.—On the occasion of a visit to the Antiquarian Museum at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, I saw a bone harpoon (fig. 36), labelled as having been picked up on the shore at Whitburn, in 1852. It is of the flat type, has three barbs on one side and two on the other, and contains an oval perforation at the butt-end—in all these respects it agrees with a specimen from Mas-d’Azil (fig. 11).

Kirkcudbright.—On September 21st, 1900, I happened to visit a small local museum in the town of Kirkcudbright, and there observed a specimen of a harpoon made of deer-horn (fig. 39, No. 1), which, I was informed, had been found in 1895, in the bed of the river Dee ; but, otherwise, it is without a history. It bears a striking resemblance to one of the harpoons from Caisteal-nan-Gilleann (fig. 34).



FIG. 37.
Bone harpoon
from Victoria
Cave. (3)
(From Boyd-
Dawkins' *Cave-
Hunting*.)

(9) *Distribution of Neolithic Harpoons.*

Harpoons made of stag-horn have been found in many of the lake-dwellings of Switzerland, especially those of

the Stone age, a few of which are figured in the various works treating of lacustrine archaeology. Two interesting specimens are here figured (fig. 39, Nos. 2 and 3); the former, found on the lake-dwelling of Concise (Lake Neuchâtel), is perforated at the butt, and the other, from *Palude Brabbia* (in the Varese district),



FIG. 39.

Harpoons of stag-horn.—(1) From the bed of the river Dee near Kirkcudbright; (2) from the lake-dwelling of Concise; (3) from *Palude Brabbia* (Italy).

(From sketches kindly supplied by W. C. Watson, author of *Portuguese Architecture*.) ($\frac{1}{2}$)

exhibits the peculiarity of having the two lower barbs reversed, like the harpoon from the Victoria Cave (fig. 37), already described. Another very large specimen was found in the *débris* of a lake-dwelling at Steckborn, in the Untersee, which has two notches at the butt-end,

one on each side, evidently intended for the purpose of giving a catch-hold to the string. Among the other objects from Steckborn lake-dwelling was a hunter's whistle, made of the phalangeal bone of the foot of a deer, precisely similar to those so frequently found on the Palaeolithic stations of France. The harpoon and whistle are figured in *The Lake-dwellings of Europe* (fig. 28, Nos. 18 and 19). Both these objects must therefore be regarded as transition links between the two civilizations. I am not aware of any argument against the supposition that the Reindeer people had survived on a few stations till the early Neolithic people had founded some of their lacustrine settlements. In the examples of harpoons found on the Swiss lake-dwellings the barbs are generally on both sides, and they vary in number from two to twelve, as in fig. 38, which was found at Lattringen.

Dr. Keller gives illustrations of harpoons from Mooserdorf (*Lake-dwellings of Switzerland*, Plate V, fig. 3), Wauwyl (*Ibid.*, Plate XX, fig. 26), Lattringen (*Ibid.*, Plate XLII, fig. 1), and Concise (*Ibid.*, Plate CIII, figs. 26 and 27). A number is figured in *The Lake-dwellings of Europe*—one (out of about twenty) found at Cortaillod (fig. 10, No. 8), another from Baldeggersee, being one of four in a small museum at Lucerne (fig. 16, No. 7), a third from the Untersee (already referred to), and a fourth from Maestricht (fig. 94, No. 3). The latter, a fine specimen with twelve barbs, was found on an artificial island constructed of timbers in the valley of the Meuse; and associated with it were a number of other weapons of bone and horn—all of early Neolithic types. One is a perforated piece of stag-horn bearing a close resemblance to the axe-hammer head found with the skeleton of a whale in the Carse of Stirling (fig. 31).

Harpoons similar to those from the Oban district, but mostly made of bone, have been largely found on the



FIG. 38.
Harpoon of
deer-horn from
Lattringen. ($\frac{1}{3}$)

coast kitchen-middens of those primitive camping grounds called *Rinnekalns*, on the south shore of the Gulf of Finland. At an exhibition of antiquities at the Tenth Archaeological Congress held at Riga, in 1896, a large number of both bilateral and unilateral harpoons were exhibited (Catalogue, Plate I) from the *Rinnekalns*, and associated with them were various other worked objects of bone, such as needles, awls, pointers, etc., but very few stone implements. Among the food refuse and osseous remains the following fauna were represented: Various kinds of shell-fish, elk (*Cervus alces*), stag, roe (*Bos primigenius*), wild-boar, otter, beaver, badger, fox, dog (*Canis familiaris*).

Two fish-spears of a very remarkable character are figured in *The Lake-dwellings of Europe* (fig. 30, Nos. 3 and 5). They were found on the station of Bodmann, in the Ueberlingersee. Their peculiarity is that one has two prongs, and the other four, formed by cutting away the interior of a thick portion of stag-horn, as well as portions of the circumference, so as to leave the prongs in the solid, each prong having only one barb. Harpoons of bone and horn, with only one prong and one barb, have been occasionally met with; but such instruments were not common until metals were introduced and utilized in the manufacture of all kinds of cutting implements. Examples made of bronze were among the relics fished up at Peschiera in Lake Garda (*Lake-dwellings of Europe*, fig. 64, Nos. 20, 21 and 30).

(10) *Rock-shelter of Schweizersbild.*

Hitherto the evidential materials under review consisted of a few relics of primitive life, chiefly harpoons, with the object of showing that they were connecting links between the Palaeolithic and Neolithic ages. We now come to certain post-glacial deposits on an inhabited site, which have yielded to their excavator, Dr. Nüesch, not only relics of the hunters who frequented it, but remains of the animals on which they feasted, in sufficient abundance to enable experts to make out a complete list of the ordinary fauna of the period. It has been shown that, during the occupancy of this rock-shelter by man,

there had been a gradual transition from an arctic to a temperate climate. The contents of these deposits indicate that the locality had been a constant *rendez-vous* for bands of roving hunters from the Palaeolithic period down to the Bronze age. As I have on a previous occasion (address delivered at Lancaster, July 19th, 1898) directed the attention of the members of this Association to the remarkable discoveries at Schweizersbild, it will be unnecessary now to do more than to explain briefly the nature of the light which they throw on the transition period.

Dr. Nüesch has expressed the opinion, founded on the relative thickness of the deposits and the character of the fauna represented in them, that the antiquity of its earliest human relics cannot be less than 20,000 years. Now, since the art-remains found in this station, as well as in the adjacent cave of Kesslerloch, are precisely similar to those of the analogous stations in France, we can accept the above estimate as equally applicable to the latter. The nature of the evidence on which Dr. Nüesch based his opinion is briefly as follows:

According to Professor Nehring, who has made a special study of the animals now inhabiting the arctic and sub-arctic regions, those characteristic of the former are band-lemming, obi-lemming, arctic fox, mountain hare, reindeer, and musk-ox. With these are frequently associated a number of animals of migratory habits, such as northern vole, water-rat, glutton, ermine, little weasel, wolf, fox, and bear. Now, the extraordinary fact was brought out that of these fourteen species only the obi-lemming and the musk-ox were unrepresented in the lowest relic-bed of the Schweizersbild. The latter was, however, found in the *débris* of the Kesslerloch cave in the vicinity. It appears that the band-lemming (*Myodes torquatus*) and the arctic fox are the most persistent animals of the arctic fauna, so that the presence of the bones of these two animals in the *débris* of this rock-shelter was alone sufficient to prove that the climate of the period was of an arctic character. In the upper portion of this deposit relics of new animals, indicating a change to a sub-arctic climate, began to appear, and had their greatest development in the next succeeding layer.

The result of careful analysis of the contents of the other deposits showed that this arctic fauna became ultimately displaced by the true forest fauna of the Neolithic period. Among the new comers were the badger, wild-cat, hare, *Urus*, *Bos-longifrons*, goat and sheep; while of those represented in the Palaeolithic deposit a large number was absent. Thus both the arctic and sub-arctic fauna had given way to a forest fauna, and, synchronous with these changes, both the Palaeolithic hunters and reindeer appear to have vanished from the district.

Among the few art specimens found in the *débris* at the Schweizersbild is a stone tablet, having rude outlines of a wild ass and of a reindeer incised upon it. The whole collection—among which were 14,000 worked flints, 180 fragments of bone needles, 41 whistles, 42 pierced ornaments made of shells, and teeth of the arctic fox, glutton, etc., may be paralleled with the latest phase of Palaeolithic civilization of the Dordogne Caves.

The chronological deductions founded on the investigations at the Schweizersbild are, from their very nature, more or less hypothetical. But, after all allowances for possible errors are made, I can see no objection to Dr. Nüesch's lowest estimate of the date of man's first appearance in Northern Switzerland, viz., 20,000 years ago.

From these facts it will be seen that in this part of Switzerland there had been no discontinuity in human existence since the inhabitants hunted the reindeer and other arctic animals till the present day. It would appear as if they had gradually adapted themselves to the changes in the environment, passing insensibly from a climate of sub-arctic severity, with its special flora and fauna, to that of modern times. Harpoons of reindeer or red-deer horn are not conspicuous objects among the relics, but this may arise from provincialism, as separate districts often develop peculiar methods of living and hunting. The relics from other transition stations are found to be equally variable in their *facies*; but this only shows that in the struggle for existence the various communities were shaping their own destinies.

(11) *Hut-dwellings at Campigny.*

Among the archaeologists who did not agree with the theory that the old indigenous inhabitants of Central Europe, along with their flint and bone industries, had come to an end with the disappearance of the reindeer, was Dr. Salmon, who maintained that traces of a gradual transformation were to be found on many of the earlier Neolithic sites. In 1898 an important article, entitled *Le Campignien*, under the joint names of Philippe Salmon, D'Ault du Mesnil and Capitan, was published in the *Revue de l'École d'Anthropologie* (p. 365 *et seq.*), the object of which was to show, that certain hut-dwellings excavated at Campigny belonged to the earliest phase of the Neolithic period. The worked flints were numerous and varied, including several Palaeolithic types and at least one special implement, called *le tranchet*, which the authors regarded as characteristic of the period. Analogous remains were stated to have been found in a great many other localities, but, as Campigny was considered the most typical station, I have selected it as most suitable for giving a brief description of this class of evidence against the *hiatus* theory.

The hillock of Campigny is situated about two kilometers to the north of the picturesque village of Blangy-sur-Bresle (Seine-Inférieure), and remarkably well placed for natural defence. The sites of the dwelling-huts were circular pits, excavated in Quaternary gravels, and measuring a few yards in diameter and about 4 feet in depth, which in the course of time became filled up with *débris*; and so their contents were preserved from decay. The industrial relics collected consist of hearths, remains of stone industry, and fragments of a coarse pottery. Some fragments of pottery are rudely ornamented with cross lines on quadrilateral spaces while others indicate perforated handles, or ears. Among the stone relics are small axes, precisely similar to those found in the Danish Kjökkenmöddings, knife flakes, scrapers, etc., but no polished objects. It would thus appear as if the invention of pottery preceded that of the art of giving a sharp edge, by polishing, to a stone implement—a deduction to which the authors direct special attention. There

are also some large flat stones showing marks of rubbing, as well as the usual hand-rubbers, supposed to have been used for grinding grain and seeds. The number of separate hearths indicates communal life and a social organization of some kind. As to the kind of huts which these people constructed there is no evidence to show. Chronologically the authors recognise this settlement as on the same horizon as the rock-shelter of Mas-d'Azil, and to the phase of Neolithic civilization it represents they have given the name *Campignien*.

From the relics found in the *débris* of the huts at Campigny, and illustrated in the interesting paper above referred to, I have copied a few specimens of the pottery (Plate I, Nos. 1-4) and a few flint implements showing three specimens of the *tranchet* (Nos. 7, 8 and 9), a pick (No. 10), a double scraper (Magdalenien type) (No. 6), and a saw (No. 5), which will give some idea of the culture of the people during the so-called Campigny epoch. But archaeological discoveries in several other localities are probably equally specialized and as worthy of being regarded as typical of some phase of the transition period, and if all such differences are to be adopted as generic characters there will be no end to the making of transitional epochs. The truth is, that every separate locality practised its own peculiar methods in adjusting its wants and necessities, not only to the progressive changes in the physical environment, but also to the expanding world of intellectuality. Mechanical improvements appeared now and then as sporadical inventions, but, as soon as they were recognised to be a permanent benefit to the community, they were utilized over larger areas and became recognized objects of commerce.

A propos to the *tranchet*, which, as we have seen, is the characteristic implement in the Campigny epoch, M. Georges Romain describes in the *Revue de l'École d'Anthropologie* for 1896 what he regards as an *atelier de Tranchets*, at Coudraie, near Montivilliers (Seine Inférieure). This factory was situated on the declivity of rising ground and occupied an area of 150 mètres by 100 mètres. In the course of a few visits M. Romain and a friend gathered some 90 ordinary sized *tranchets*, and 4 small ones (which might be regarded as arrow points ("à tranchant trans-



SPECIMENS OF POTTERY (1 TO 4) AND FLINT IMPLEMENTS (5 TO 10) FROM THE HUT-DWELLINGS AT CAMPIGNY. ($\frac{2}{3}$)

versal”), together with a number of scrapers, borers, flakes, etc. Two of the *tranchets* are figured on page 149 of the above-named volume, and they appear to be exceptionally well made. They measure on an average 42 millimètres by 29 millimètres at the cutting edge.

The question whether the *tranchet* is a characteristic implement of the transition period is still the cause of much discussion among Continental anthropologists. That it has been found on inhabited sites of the Neolithic age is universally admitted, but this is no proof that it had not been a special tool before the art of polishing stone implements was invented. In Scandinavia the *tranchet*, which is a characteristic relic of the Kjökkenmøddings, disappeared on the advent of the polished stone axe; but in some other countries it appeared to have survived longer. (For an important discussion on Campignien and Campigny, see *Bull. de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, January 1st, 1899.)

(12) *Tardenoisien Flint Industry.*

The existence in various parts of the world of small flint instruments and tools affecting geometrical forms, such as triangle, trapeze, rhomboid, segment of a circle, etc., has been known to archaeologists for some years. This particular kind of flint industry is now regarded as a special link—another epoch—between the Palaeolithic and Neolithic civilizations, under the name of *Tardenoisien*, after Fère-en-Tardenois (Aisne), in the environs of which these small worked flints have been abundantly found. They have also been frequently met with both on the later Palaeolithic stations and on Neolithic sites. In England they have been found by Mr. Abbott in the Hastings' Kitchen Middens (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. xxv, p. 122), and by Dr. Colley March on Neolithic floors in East Lancashire. Under peat, Dr. March came upon the site and *débris* of a flint factory, with regard to which he thus writes :

“The most remarkable and characteristic part of his workmanship (‘Neolithic tool-wright’) lay in the production of a number of minute implements, used

probably for boring eyes in bone needles, for engraving patterns on shafts and handles, and perhaps for tattooing.

“Tools of flint, so diminutive as these, some of which are only a quarter of an inch long, have, I believe, been found in no other part of the world. But they made other implements in great variety, knives, scrapers, both hafted scrapers and thumbstones, some of the latter being very small, arrow-tips, spear-tips, and, as I think, fish-throttles. Not one of the implements is polished, and there is no trace of the local manufacture of barbed arrow-heads. Neither is there any sign of pottery, or of a knowledge of spinning. We may believe, too, that these early Neolithic men were ignorant of agriculture, that they lived by the chase, and that they clothed themselves in skins as a protection against a severe climate.” (*The Neolithic Men of Lancashire*, etc., p. 12.)

Baron A. de Loë announced at the Monaco Meeting of the International Congress of Anthropology and Pre-historic Archaeology for 1907 (*Compte Rendu*, p. 423) the finding of characteristic Tardenoisien flints in the Grotte de Remouchamps, sur l’Amblène (Holland), associated with remains of the reindeer.

(13) *A Floating Lacustrine Station.*

For more than half a century the Kjökkenmöddings of Denmark have been known as containing the oldest traces of man in Scandinavian lands—among which, singular enough, the veritable *tranchet* forms a conspicuous relic. Many of the Scandinavian archaeologists have long regarded these remains as belonging to an age which preceded the true Neolithic, or polished Stone age. At the meeting of the *Congrès Pré-historique de France*, held at Périgueux, in 1906, M. Georges F. L. Sarauw read a paper, entitled “*Sur les trouvailles faites dans le Nord de l’Europe datant de la période dite de l’hiatus.*”

From this communication it appears that in the island of Seeland a remarkable discovery has been made in a peat-bog (formerly the bed of a lake), called

Maglemose, in the form of a lacustrine station, distant several hundred yards from the old shore of the lake, on which were found a large assortment of worked flints, and implements of bone and horn, together with the osseous remains of animals and other food refuse. The most puzzling feature of the discovery was the entire absence of piles for supporting platforms on which the dwelling huts are usually placed—a peculiarity which could not be due to the decay of the piles, as there was a large quantity of wood well preserved in the moss. The conclusion arrived at was that it was a huge raft, or floating island, and probably the precursor of the famous pile-structures of the Stone and Bronze ages of Central Europe. Among the flint relics are scrapers, picks, *tranchets*, borers, flakes, nuclei, etc. But of greater interest are the objects made of bone and horn, such as socketed axes, made of the bones of the Urus, and of stag-horn daggers, needles, ornaments, fish-hooks, polishers, and especially sagaies, and harpoons made of bone. The latter assume different forms, but the barbs are unilateral—except in a special form which consisted of a smooth stem with a slit on each side into which thin flakes of flint were inserted. Among the thousands of worked objects of flint collected on this station there was none showing any trace of polish, nor was there a single fragment of pottery found. The archaeological horizon of this strange settlement agreed with that of Campigny in its *tranchets*, with that of Fère-en-Tardenois in its diminutive flint implements, and with that of Mas-d’Azil in its harpoons. On geological grounds, as well as on the evidence of its flora and fauna, it has been placed earlier than the Kjökkenmöddings. M. Sarauw, after noticing the distribution of other early remains in the north of Europe, concludes thus: “Ainsi, pour le Nord de l’Europe comme pour l’Ouest, la lacune, l’ancien *hiatus*, vient d’être comblé.”

(14) *Kjökkenmöddings in Portugal.*

Excluding the caves and rock-shelters frequented by Palaeolithic man, only a few inhabited sites, associated with shell-heaps and other food refuse, can with certainty

be assigned to the transition period, although, within recent years, their number has considerably increased. The Kjökkenmöddings of Denmark, to which reference has already been made in this article as belonging to this period, are too well known to be described in detail here. Among the less known of the early haunts of man, one of the most interesting was discovered in 1863, in the valley of the Tagus, near the villages of Salvaterra and Mugem. The shell-heaps are grouped on the left bank of the river at from 25 to 30 mètres above sea-level, but distant some 30 or 40 miles from the maritime shores of the present *embouchure* of the Tagus. They are scattered over an area measuring 20 kilomètres in length by 5 in breadth. One of these *monticules*, called *Cabeço da Arruda*, had an elliptical shape, and measured about 100 mètres in length, 60 mètres in breadth, and 7 mètres in thickness. A short description of their nature and contents was given by M. C. Ribeiro in 1880, at the meeting of the International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology then held at Lisbon. The shells are of marine origin, and it is supposed that when the shells were gathered and used as food the sea extended up the valley as far as the shell-mounds. The industrial remains disclosed by excavations are of a very rude character, consisting of primitive implements made of flint, quartzite, bone and horn. Among the flints illustrated are a few knife flakes, and some small cutting implements of rhomboidal forms, "à tranchant transversal," reminding one of the *Tardenoisien* industry. Also, some large flat stones, used apparently for grinding purposes, together with the smaller hand rubbers. Horn and bone were used as chisels, pointers, spatulae, etc. No polished axes, nor pottery, nor any indications of domestic animals, not even the dog (which the people of the Danish Kjökkenmöddings had domesticated), have been found in any of these shell-mounds. The animal remains belonged to the following genera: *Bos*, *Cervus*, *Ovis*, *Equus*, *Sus*, *Canis*, *Felis*, *Meles*, *Viverra*, *Lepus*; and the shells were mostly *Lutraria compressa*, and in a minor degree there were also *Tapes*, *Cardium*, *Ostrea*, *Buccinum*, *Nucula*, *Pecten* and *Solen*.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the investiga-

tions was the discovery of upwards of a hundred interments, at various depths in the shell-mounds; but it does not appear that any grave-goods had been associated with them. The osseous remains were much decayed, and the skulls distorted, probably by the pressure of the *débris*. Enough, however, remained to show that they represented two races—one dolichocephalic and the other brachycephalic. Some of the crania were recognised by M. de Quatrefages, and other anthropologists present at the Congress, as belonging to the types of Cromagnon and Furfooz. Of the latter, only two specimens were in the series, all the others being dolichocephalic, with a cephalic index of 71.11 to 75.56. One of the brachycephalic skulls had a cephalic index of 86.90. A reasonable inference from these archaeological data is that the builders of the shell-mounds in the valley of the Tagus were a mixed community, the great majority of which belonged to the old Palaeolithic people of Europe, while the minority formed part of the earliest immigrants of the Neolithic races into Europe.

(15) *General Conclusion.*

From these recorded facts and observations we see that, at the dawn of Neolithic civilization, there extended over Western Europe a primitive population living on shell-fish, the produce of the chase, seeds, fruits, roots, etc., varying according to the natural resources of the environment. The finding of the foundations of huts in selected localities shows that they lived a communal life; but their domestic economy was of a low order, having only roughly-formed implements of stone, bone and horn. They had no ornaments, no pottery and no domestic animals, with the possible exception of the dog. But even at this early stage there were two well-defined races apparently living in harmony with each other—one dolichocephalic and the other brachycephalic. The former, who were greatly in excess of the latter in the western regions of Europe, appear to have been indigenous to the country, being probably the direct descendants of the Palaeolithic people who, so far as can be judged from the most trustworthy anthropological researches, were all dolichocephalic. The latter,

or brachycephals, on their first appearance in Europe were not more civilised than the former, but a constant stream of immigrants was kept up, and ultimately introduced improved methods in the cultivation of grain, and in the rearing of domestic animals. The French troglodytes lived as isolated hunters till the wild animals—mammoth, reindeer, horses, etc.—which formed the staple of their food, died out in the locality, owing probably to a change of climate. Contemporary with them, but outside the areas of their hunting grounds, these other communities were developing new resources for the supply of the necessities of life among the increasing products of a more ameliorated climate. It is quite possible that certain districts of Europe which were formerly inhabited by Palaeolithic hunters ceased, for some reason or other, to be places of resort to man. Britain in Quaternary times was joined to the Continent, and it is probable that its later Palaeolithic inhabitants, such as those of Kent's Cavern, could join hands with French troglodytes on the intervening common hunting grounds now forming the bed of the English Channel. When Palaeolithic civilization began to be curtailed in virtue of cosmic changes in the environment, and new methods of living were forthcoming, it is possible that the British fringe of the Palaeolithic population would shrink back to Europe, and thus, for a time, leave a gap in the continuity of human life in Britain. On this point there is no evidence; but it is only a side issue to the European *Hiatus-problem*.

The power of adaptation to changed circumstances may almost be regarded as a monopoly of the human race, and no doubt it took effect in a variety of ways in different geographical areas. We could hardly expect to find in every locality precisely the same *facies* in the progressive arts and industries. Something must be due to the *genius loci*, and the inventive faculty of individuals. Hence the archaeological *hiatus*, like the geological cataclysms of the days of yore, must be relegated to the lumber room of dead theories.

AN UNKNOWN SIXTEENTH CENTURY TOPOGRAPHY OF ROME.¹

By THOMAS ASHBY, D.LITT., F.S.A.

In the summer of 1906 I had the good fortune to visit the extensive and valuable library of Mr. C. W. Dyson Perrins at Malvern. I found among the books that he had recently acquired was a volume that I had myself seen (but failed to buy) at the sale of Sir A. Fountain's books, at Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge's in June, 1902. It was there purchased by Messrs. Pickering and Chatto, the well-known booksellers, who sold it to Mr. Corfield; and at his sale it was acquired by Mr. Perrins.

The earlier history of the volume is not known to me. The leaves are of vellum, and used on both sides, the size of the single page being 248 by 200 mm. : but many of the drawings are on the double page; and from the existence of a fragmentary marginal contents note on f. 8^v, we may infer that the leaves have been cut. From the sumptuous "get-up" of the volume it may legitimately be supposed that it was made, not for the press, but for presentation to some wealthy patron of the artist and author. The drawings have elaborate ornamental borders, especially some of those on the double page, as will be seen in the illustrations. It has a fine French binding, possibly an actual work of Grolier, but this may have originally been made for some other work. For the book is by no means complete, as is clear from the earlier numbering on the leaves (on one side only) and from the fragments of text which are found on the back of some of the leaves, which have in those cases been gummed together, so that only the drawings are visible—a sure indication that at one time it passed into the hands of a collector who cared only for the drawings, and who must have destroyed the greater part of the

¹ Read before the Meeting of the Institute on July 1st, 1908.

text, which had no drawings interspersed with it. He then renumbered the leaves on both sides, from 1 to 62, taking no notice of course of the sides on which there was text, which were gummed together. It seems clear from the earlier numbering, as given in the list of contents at the end of this paper, that we may infer that from f. 15 onwards (which must have borne the earlier number 94) to the end there was no more text, but nothing but views on both sides of the page; so that f. 38, which bore the number 117, was the last numbered page of the book. The title page is decorated with an architectural back-ground, in front of which stand the figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, on each side of the tablet containing the title. This has been cut out, and a label of parchment substituted—

DISEGNI-DE
LE RVINE DI RO
ROMA E COME
ANTICAMENTE
ERONO

The date at the foot of the title page,

ROMÆ
1490

and the letters SPQR on the escutcheon at the top also seem to have been inserted over an erasure, though on the original part of the title page: while the inscriptions in the medallions on each side at the top have also been removed, and the arms in the centre of the binding have been made unrecognisable.

The date 1490 is apocryphal and probably fictitious, while 1590 (assuming this to have been a mistake) is a little too late for the contents of the book. That the text is fragmentary is further clear from the high numbers of some of the chapters into which it is divided—thus in the legend to the view on f. 36 there is a reference to Book II, ch. xviii, and ch. xxxiii deals with the church of S. Lorenzo. This is unfortunate, for some of it is not without interest: and it does not correspond in any way with any of the printed or MS. descriptions of Rome of the time of Gregory XIII., to which it clearly belongs, both from the character of the views, and from

indications in the text itself, where (on f. 3^v) we find Pope Gregory XIII. mentioned as living (1572–1585) : perhaps, indeed, we may fix it more closely to the year 1581 (f. 9—see below). We may first, perhaps, deal with the scanty remains of the text and then turn to the illustrations.

The text has often been rendered difficult to read by the pages having been gummed together, and part of one leaf having come off on to the one opposite. I must acknowledge the help of Mr. G. McN. Rushforth, who kindly deciphered considerable portions of it for me. Originally it was very clearly written in a neat hand—another indication that it was a presentation copy.

On f. 3^v we find the beginning of a description of certain notable things at S. Peter's. Inasmuch as it occurs on the back of p. 35 of the original numbering, and is the beginning of ch. v, we must suppose that we have lost the whole of the first book of the text, and the first four chapters of the second, except for the last page of the fourth chapter on p. 2, which is still gummed on to the title page, and therefore undecipherable except for a few words.

Di alcune cose notabili di S. Pietro.

Cap. v.

Nel Cortile subito entrato a man manca si vede una sepoltura di marmo,¹ doue sono sepoliti gli Imperatori Ottone II. Honorio, & Valentiniano II. Augusti; & nel mezo del Cortile una capelletta con otto colonne di Porfido, coperta di bronzo, con due Pauoni, et quattro delfini sopra & una pigna sotto di notabil grandezza pur di metallo, la quale vuole il Pannouino,² che fosse ricettacolo dell'acqua di quella fontana che Papa Adriano primo, & di poi Simmaco condusse in questo Cortile dal lago Sabbatino per seruitio della Chiesa, e de pellegrini; ma s'inganna, perche nè quella pigna e disposta in maniera, che sia capace di riceuere, o di mandar fuori acqua per alcun seruitio, ne il condotto vi era sotto, ma vn poco piu verso la chiesa, come si e scoperto, et scaturiuu l'acqua in un altro vaso di metallo, che il

¹ This sarcophagus is shown in the drawing of Tasselli, reproduced by Grisar, *Analecta Romana I.*, t. xi, xii: the latter is probably right (p. 504) in maintaining that the name, though frequently given by earlier writers, is incorrect. The mention of Valentinian II. (correctly III.) is a mere mistake, due, perhaps, to the existence of the two imperial mausolea (S. Petronilla

and S. Andrea) on the west side of the church.

² For the pinecone and its canopy, cf. the exhaustive article of Hülsen in *Röm. Mitt.*, 1904, 87, *sqq.* Panvinius' description is contained in his MS. work, *De Basilica Vaticana in Cod. Vat.*, 7010 (published by Mai, *Spicilegium*, ix, 368 *sqq.*).

nostro Beatissimo Gregorio ha fatto leuare con certi fragmenti di marmo, et metter nella chiesa della Madonna della febre per nettare il Cortile. Vogliono, che questa pigna con le cose intorno fosse nella mole d'Adriano, ma nel rouerso della medaglia di questo Imperatore non si vede questo suo mausoleo, ne si sa per altro; si puo ben credere, che, o di questo, o del cerchio di Nerone ruinato nell' edificatione di S. Pietro, o d'altro edifitio antico fossero quiui da i Papi per ornamento, et per memoria collocati, come usarono di fare in altri luoghi d'altre simili anticaglie raccolte. Sopra le porte della chiesa sono le catene del porto di Smirna, et certe bandiere tolte a Turchi al tempo di Sisto III., & altre della fortezza d'Africa al tempo di Giulio III., & nella chiesa quelle de gli Vgunotti, mandate da Carlo IX. Re di Franza alla felice memoria di Pio V. A man destra della porta maggiore sono due tauole di marmo, che contengono la donatione dimolti terreni, & beni.

The account we have here adds an important detail, which confirms Hülsen's theory that the pinecone (though originally a fountain) did not serve as a fountain in the atrium of the old church of S. Peter, and is decisive evidence against Petersen's contention¹ that it is to be identified with the *cantharus* described by S. Paulinus of Nola in a letter of A.D. 397—the only ground for supposing the migration of the pigna to the Vatican before the middle of the twelfth century A.D. (Hülsen, *op. cit.*, 105). It expressly states that “the water pipe was not under it, but a little further towards the church, as has been discovered, and the water gushed out into another basin of bronze, which our most blessed Gregory has caused to be removed with certain fragments of marble, and placed in the church of the Madonna della Febbre to clear the court.” The basin is shown as still in position, though by that time it must have been moved, (No. 117) in the plan of Alfarano (1590) and mentioned by Panvinus, with an “ancient basin of porphyry,” which had been placed by Symmachus *in platea ante gradus* (Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.*, i, 267; De Rossi, *Inscr. christ.*, ii, 220, 429).

The description of Grimaldi in *Cod. Barb.* xxxiv, 50 (now *Barb. Lat.* 2733), 151 *sqq.*, quoted by Hülsen, *op. cit.*, 95, is in agreement with the new account:

“Leo III. fecit iuxta ipsam pineam alium fontem ad bibendum commodiorem, cuius magnum labrum aeneum rotundum conversum est in sacros usus basilicae sub Gregorio XIII., apparebatque ante

¹ *Röm. Mitt.*, 1903, 321 *sqq.*

atrii demolitionem locus ipsius fontis Leoniani et fistulae ducentis aquam habentis unius papalis Julii formam."

The size of the Julius of the period (1606-15) was 1.05 inches or 27 mm.

The church of S. Maria della Febbre was the eastern one of the two circular mausolea which stood close to S. Peter's on the south, known also as S. Andrea, and destroyed by Pius VI.

The fate of the bronze basin is uncertain¹: it is not among the objects mentioned by the chirografo of 1613 in the Archivio di Stato (published by Gori in *Arch. Stor. Artistico*, iv (1881) 230), as used for the statue of the Virgin on the column in front of S. Maria Maggiore. This document mentions the melting down of

"quattro ferrate, ciascheduna di tre pezzi con alcuni archi similmente di metallo, già posti intorno alla pigna, che stava avanti all' atrio della vecchia basilica di S. Pietro":

Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, 136², infers that the four dolphins and the two of the four peacocks which no longer exist (two, as is well known, are still, with the pinecone itself, in the Giardino della Pigna), disappeared on the same occasion.

The inference is very likely correct, and the account given by our author is no obstacle to it. For the other two peacocks, according to the drawing in an eleventh century MS. from the abbey of Farfa, now in the Eton College Library (No. 124), stood, not on the canopy, but at each extremity of the gable of S. Peter's itself. Grisar, *op. cit.* 473 *sqq.*, maintains successfully that this cannot be a mere invention of the artist, but must have some foundation in fact. And the number four suits far better the theory that their original position was, as a passage in the *Mirabilia* tells us, the mausoleum of Hadrian, whether we suppose that they stood at the angles of the bronze railing which enclosed the whole, as Hülsen thinks (in Jordan, *Topographie*, i, 3, 665), or

¹ De Rossi (*op. cit.*, 429), in the absence of other indications, seems to attach little importance (*id quod unde didicerit, nescio*) to what Grimaldi says about the bronze basin.

the four dolphins, two of the peacocks, and the dome were melted to provide the ten thousand pounds of metal required for the casting of the statue," etc.

² "In 1613 the semicircular pediments,

on the four pillars of the triple entrance to the enclosure as Petersen supposes (in Amelung, *Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums*, i, p. 895). A good photograph of this entrance is given in Borsari's account of the excavations of 1892 (*Not. Scav.*, 1892, 422, fig. 8).

From the absence of any mention of the bronze basin in any later accounts (I have searched several of the seventeenth century guide books of Rome) and Grimaldi's phrase that the bronze basin had been converted "to sacred uses" by Gregory XIII. (which seems to mean that in his day it was no longer in existence), I think we may infer that it only remained a short time in S. Maria della Febbre, and was soon melted down.

On f. 4 is the conclusion of ch. v of the text (how much has fallen out, it is impossible to say—probably two pages at least) and the commencement of ch. vi. The page bears the number 41, and the text is as follows :

tale degli ammorbati con pienissima indulgenza, che sono dicenoue chiese in tutte, et tre ospitali. Il giorno della statione in ciascheduna di esse, è il giorno della sua festa ; saluo, che di S. Angelo, che dura per tutta l'Ottaua.

De penitentieri et della dignita
di questa Chiesa. Cap. vi.

Sono con bellissimo ordine disposti in questa Chiesa, come ancora nell' altre principali molti Confessori di varie nazioni addimandati penitentieri con potesta d' assolvere di tutti peccati ; et accioche concorrendo ivi le genti da tutte le parti del Mondo ; ognuno possa confessandosi esser inteso ; hoggidi per ordine di Pio V. vi stanno preti de la compagnia del buon Gesù. Questi penitentieri cancellano i peccati veniali toccando le persone con quella bachetta che tengono in mano. Questa chiesa ancorche per la prerogativa della dignita episcopale sia minor di S. Giovanni Laterano ; nondimeno per la gran quantita di corpi santi e di altre reliquie e per la residenza papale, & per essersi fatte in essa sempre mai quelle maggiori ceremonie et attioni che soglia fare il Papa trattando con Regi & Imperatori nelle creationi coronationi abiurationi giuramenti di fedelta et gli luoghi d'ubidienza et per il concorso della Corte et de i pellegrini di tutte le parti in tutti i tempi et specialmente nell' anno del Giubileo quivi principalmente fondato da Bonifatio et la più famosa dell' uniuerso e vi si aggiungera la stupenda sua Fabrica incominciata da Giulio II. sebbene con altro modello la quale ridotta nel modo ch'hoggidi si vede e di Michelangelo Buonaroti ; mi e parso con la sequente figura dimostrare qual'ella sarà quando sarà finita, essendo fabrica digna





FIG. 1.—THE CASTLE OF ST. ANGELO. [F. 6.]



FIG. 2.—THE ISLAND OF THE TIBER. [F. 8.]

d'essere veduta p(er) che pareggia gli antichi et supera i moderni a tutti paesi. (The view of S. Peter's referred to is on the following page, 4^r.)

On f. 6^v is the termination of the description of Castel S. Angelo, which occupied ch. ix. (containing a reference to the view of the Castello on f. 6), and the commencement of that of Trastevere, which occupied ch. x. The conclusion of ch. x is to be found on f. 7, which bears the earlier number 49. It does not seem to present any points of especial interest, and is therefore not given *in extenso*; the two passages already reproduced may eventually serve for the identification of the author of the treatise.

The next fragment of text is to be found on f. 8^v and 9^r. It begins with a description of the Tiber island (ch. xvi), and the legend of its formation from the throwing into the river of the cornercrop from the field of the Tarquins, and turns to describe the church of S. Bartolommeo. The only point of interest is the concluding paragraph which speaks of

“la chiesa di S. Giovanni Collaui, già monasterio di monache, al presente trasportate da Papa Gregorio nel monasterio di Sant' Anna hauendo concesso la chiesa à Gesuiti. Oltra queste due chiese ui sono alcune habitationi di particolari, come si è ueduto nella figura moderna.”

The exact dates of the transference of the Benedictine nuns from the church of S. Giovanni Calibita to S. Anna dei Funari¹ and of its concession, not as a matter of fact to the Jesuits, but to the Frati di S. Giovanni de Dio, are naturally of importance for the dating of the text. The first edition of the *Cose Meravigliose dell' Alma Citta di Roma* (1568), p. 11,^{v2} speaks of the nuns as still there, and so, but wrongly, does that of 1575, while Cancellieri, *Notizie Istoriche delle Chiese di S. Maria in Iulia, etc.* (Bologna, 1823), gives this accurately. He quotes a document from the archives of S. Anna dei Funari (p. 4), according to which on November 23, 1573, Gregory XIII. ordered the transference of the nuns, on account of the convent being

¹ The church was demolished in 1887 to make room for the Via Arenula (Ianciani, *Golden Days of the Renaissance*, 223 sqq.).

² This work is interesting as providing an itinerary for seeing the whole of Rome in three days (pp. 38^v-45^v).

so subject to inundations, of which there had been one in the previous year (Bonini, *Terere Incatenato*, 63).

Gregorius Papa XIII., propter crebras Tiberis inundationes, et murorum corrosiones, Monasterium S. Mariae, alias S. Joannis Calocitae, sive de Licæonia in Insula Urbis, suppressa Abbatissa, Moniales transferri iussit ad Monasterium S.M. in Julia, alias S. Annae, cui univit bona et jura.

In 1575 a pilgrimage from Bologna came to Rome for the Jubilee, and some of the pilgrims, with other Bolognese already domiciled in Rome, bought the church and the nunnery on June 2 of that year (p. 8), and the Pope, by a bull of March 27, 1576, confirmed the verbal approval of the confraternity which they had formed, which he had given on September 24 of the preceding year (p. 110).

In 1581, however, the confraternity removed to the church of S. Tommaso della Catena or degli Spagnuoli, close to the Palazzo Farnese, the parish which had hitherto belonged to this church being incorporated with that of S. Salvatore in Campo, by a bull of June 13, 1581 (p. 116), while the church of S. Giovanni Calibita was transferred in the same year to the monks of the order of S. Giovanni di Dio, or Fatebenefratelli (pp. 15 *sqq.*)

Panciroli, in the first edition of his *Tesori Nascosti* (1600), pp. 213, 370, mentions the transference of the nuns, and the coming of the Frati di S. Giovanni di Dio, or Fatebenefratelli (who are still there), but does not give the date:¹ he adds it, however, in the second edition (1625), p. 626, and there states it as 1581.

The point is of importance, as it gives a *terminus post quem* for the compilation of the text.

Armellini, *Chiese di Roma* (ed. 2, 618), quotes the *Stato temporale delle chiese di Roma* (Arch. Vat., tom. ii, p. 120, under the year 1662) which gives the date of the foundation of the church as 1584. This is, however, a somewhat later authority, and appears to have quite confused the issue, inasmuch as it attributes the foundation and construction of the church to the Compagnia dei Bolognesi. We may therefore consider 1581 to be the date of the concession of the church to the Fatebenefratelli.

¹ Nibby, *Roma Moderna*, i, 99, wrongly gives the date as 1297.

Cancellieri (pp. 10,¹ 17) seems to assume from the inscription of 1640, given by Martinelli (*Roma ex Ethnica Sacra*, 124), which records the restoration of the church in that year, that they did not occupy the church until then, so that Panciroli is wrong in saying (*Tesori Nascosti* (1625), p. 627) that they restored the church about the year 1600, and that it was then and not before that the relics of various martyrs were found. But this criticism seems out of place. Panciroli must have known of a restoration which occurred in his own time; and the bull of 1575 only refers to the bodies of the martyrs as reposing in the church, to which effect there was probably a tradition long enough before the actual discovery of the stone which Panciroli records.

After ch. xvi, which we thus have entire, begins ch. xvii, "Del velabro e del Pallatino verso Ponente," which contains an account of no great interest, and which continues on f. 10^v (the original 52^v). The original p. 53 is missing, so that p. 11^r, bearing the number 54 of the previous pagination, does not continue what precedes, but begins to deal with the Aventine. Here we have a mention of the "arch built in honour of Horatius Cocles of most beautiful marbles, destroyed in the time of Eugenius IV. to make lime of them."

The reference is to the arch of P. Lentulus Scipio and T. Quinctius Crispinus Valerianus, erected in A.D. 2, and destroyed just in the time of this Pope (Flavius Blondus, *Roma instaurata*, i, 20).

"vetustissimos arcus marmoreos ut in calcem decoquerentur dolentes vidimus a fundamentis excidi. Quos arcus fama fuit et quibusdam indicantibus litteris apparebat Horatii Coclitis honori fuisse a maioribus excitatos."

The account of the Aventine continues on f. 13^v (the earlier 56^v), the churches of S. Sabina and S. Alessio being described. In the former our author notes the existence of an ancient weight of Lucullan marble, built in close

¹ p. 10: "prese dunque un doppio abbaglio il Panciroli, avendo scritto che questa chiesa fu rinnovata circa l'Anno Santo 1600, quando lo fu quarant'anni dopo: e che in quell'occasione fu scoperta l'Arca marmorea, in cui erano incisi i nomi de' quattro SS. MM. giacchè ciò dev'essere accaduto molto

prima, facendosene menzione nella Bolla di Gregorio XIII. fin dal 1575."

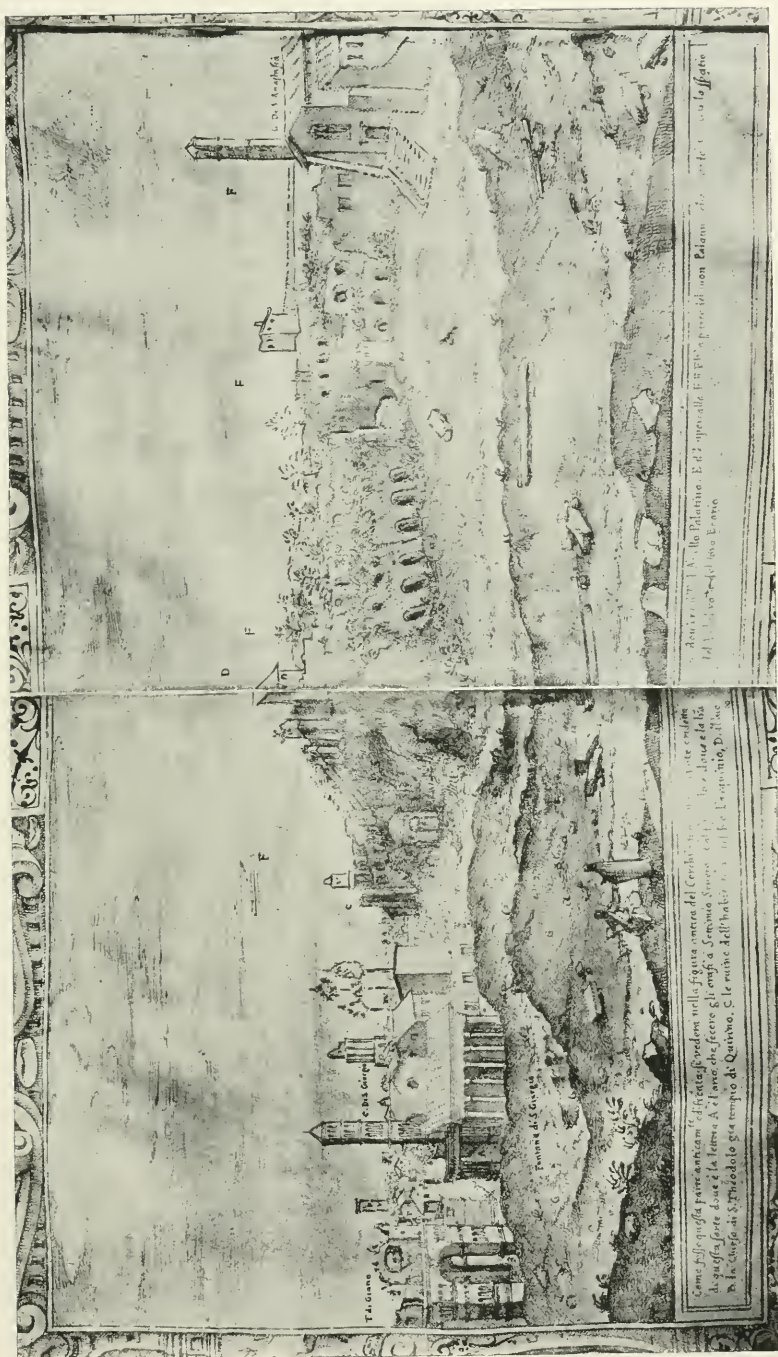
p. 17: "Nel Bollario di Sisto V. si legge, che fu tenuto il primo Capitolo Generale in questo luogo . . . pertanto i PP. Fatebenefratelli non vi poterono subentrare, che posteriormente."

to the high altar, said to have been thrown at S. Dominic by the devil as he prayed. This is mentioned by Panciroli (1625), 640. On f. 14 comes a chapter (no. xxxiii) on the church of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura. The high number—for that dealing with the Aventine can hardly have been more than about xix¹—shows that here there is a considerable lacuna in the text.

We may now proceed to the consideration of the drawings. As we have seen, they fall into two classes—the actual and the restored views, the views of ancient Rome as the Renaissance antiquaries saw it actually before them and the reconstructions of what they imagined it to have been, and are generally arranged in pairs, the restoration coming first in order. The other class, however, being a good deal the more important, must be considered first. The first of these is a view of S. Peter's (f. 4^v) as it was intended to be when completed according to Michaelangelo's design, in the form of a Greek cross. We come next (f. 5) to a view of the Teatro di Belvedere, which is very like that given in a well-known engraving, representing the Giostra of 1565, of the *Speculum Urbis Romae* (Quaritch, no. 354; cf. *Papers of the British School at Rome*, ii, p. 83), by Du Perac, engraved by Lafreri.

It is not, however, a mere copy from it: the cruciform arbour with a dome in the centre—so common in the sixteenth century gardens in Rome—is here far less prominent, and we have, too, part of the bastion of Paul III. indicated below the Belvedere on the right. The great change in the appearance of the court came with the erection of the library by Sixtus V., which divided it into two. On the other hand, it was already in the time of Paul III. that part of Bramante's original structure had collapsed (*Papers*, cit. p. 31, cf. pl. 43, 45), rendering it necessary to strengthen it largely with brickwork, and so obscuring almost entirely Bramante's original plan, the effect of which would have been immeasurably finer than it is at present. Next comes (f. 6) a view of the Castle of S. Angelo, showing the fortifications of Pius IV. already in existence. It is very similar to Dosio's view,

¹ That ch. xviii dealt with the Pyramid of Cestius we have already seen (*supra*, 246).



THE VELABRUM AND THE WESTERN ANGLE OF THE PALATINE. [F. 9^v, 10.]



Urbis Romae Aedificiorum Illustrium quae supersunt reliquiae (1569), pl. 48, but differs in important details. (Plate I, fig. 1.)

There appears to have been in the time of Gregory XIII. a project for cutting the last arch on the right bank of the Ponte S. Angelo, so reducing it to purely military uses, and restoring the old Pons Triumphalis for traffic, after having enlarged the Piazza in front of the castle and demolished a good part of the hospital of S. Spirito. This is explained in the text to our view :

“Questa fortezza non è ancor finita, perche il ponte A nò è tagliato, done è la lettera B è giardino, et done è E si passa per il Beloardo, il ponte non è rifatto, la piazza D è piena di case, lo standardo non si tien su’ l’arbore se non le feste principali.”

The garden is shown in the engravings in the *Speculum Urbis Romae* just east of the round tower of Alexander VI. (Borgatti, *Castel S. Angelo*, tav. xvii, fig. 29), destroyed by Urban VIII. Of this project, which was not carried into execution, I know nothing from any other source of information, except that the restoration of the Pons Triumphalis was projected by Julius II. in connexion with the laying out of the Via Giulia, “quem quidem tua Beatitudo vult restituere et iam a populo Romano pons Iulii vocatur.” (Albertini, *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris Urbis Romae*, 12^v, 95^v of the original edition and of that of 1515 ; p. v, lxxiii of the reprint of Mazochi (1523).) But it will be news to some of my readers that the east wing of the hospital of S. Spirito was almost sacrificed for a scheme for a new bridge over three hundred years ago. It is perhaps too much to hope that the hospital may survive untouched the scheme for the Ponte Vittorio Emanuele, though the wing which will now be demolished was only added by Benedict XIV.

The next view (Plate I, fig. 2) depicts the Island of the Tiber, with the churches of S. Bartolommeo and S. Giovanni Calibita, the former before its “restoration” and modernization by Martino Longhi the younger in 1625, when we see that the latter too had a pointed and arcaded campanile. On the further bank we see much of the rest of Rome, in which nothing seems to require particular comment, and may note the fortified palace of

the Savelli on the ruins of the theatre of Marcellus (*cf.* Egger, *Codex Escurialensis*, Textband, Pl. V (= Tafeln f. 56^v) and p. 140, fig. 61 (from Antonio Tempesta's birdseye view of 1593).

The next (f. 9^v, 10^v) is a double view, ranging from the arch of Janus Quadrifrons to the church of S. Anastasia. (Plate II.) The left-hand portion closely resembles Duperac's *Vestigi dell' Antichità di Roma* (1575), Pl. 12. Some of the drawings, indeed, of which I have not thought it worth while to give reproductions, are absolute copies from this work.

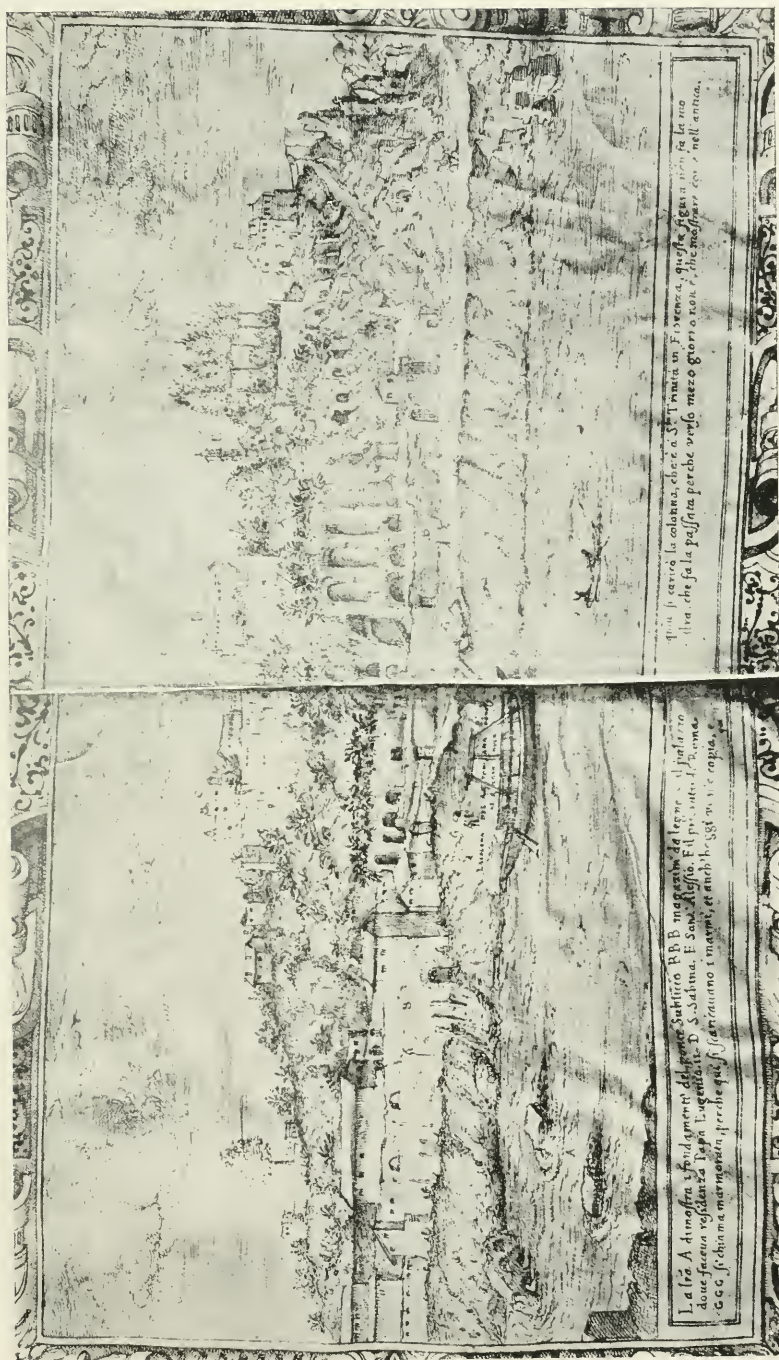
For S. Anastasia compare the drawing from the Stuttgart sketch book (early sixteenth century) reproduced by Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, i, 605. The modernization of the church, in which its original form has been entirely obliterated, dates from 1636. "The ruins of the habitations of King Tarquin" are simply the Temple of Augustus. The temple of Apollo is of course quite wrongly placed.

The next (f. 12^v, 13, Plate III) is a view of the Marmorata and the Aventine, with the various ancient substructions on its slopes, of which a good deal still remains. The right half is identical with Duperac, *op. cit.* 33, but the left half differs slightly. The column seen in the foreground with the legend "la colônia del Antoniana donata al gran duca" in a ship was removed from the tepidarium of the baths of Caracalla in 1564 to Florence, set up in the piazza di S. Trinità, and crowned with a bronze statue of Justice (Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 539, and *Storia degli Scavi*, iii, 114).

F. 15 gives a view of the Capitol, according to the plans of Michelangelo, with the palaces on each side shown (of course fictitiously as regards the present Museo Capitolino)¹ as complete, but the old battlemented tower still crowning the Palazzo del Senatore. This battlemented tower occurs in other views also in this work. Its construction was begun in 1578, and pursued until 1580, when money became short (Rodocanachi, *Le Capitole Romain*, 90), but it seems to have been completed soon after that year, if not during it: in any case before

¹ This is also the case in the views of the Capitol in the *Speculum Urbis Romae* (Quaritch, No. 15) and the rare

engraving of 1568, almost exactly similar to it, by Bartolomeo Faletti.



THE AVENTINE AND THE MARMORATA. [F. 12^v, 13.]



the end of the reign of Gregory XIII., whose name is inscribed upon the cornice at its summit.

The next view (ff. 16^v–17) (Plate IV) shows the Forum Romanum looking up towards the Capitol, which, though it presents no features of especial interest, is a good view of the period, and independent, as far as I know, of any other work. For the tower on the arch of Septimius Severus *cf. Mélanges de l'École Française*, 1906, 185. In the view before us there is no tower on the gable of the Curia, but the usual Campanile on the south-east side (*ibid.*).

The Forum of Nerva (18^v, 19) is to all intents and purposes the same view as that of Duperac, *Vestigii*, tav. vi. The view shows the temple of Minerva, destroyed in 1605, the Church of S. Quirico, the so-called Arco di Noe and the Colonnacce. A still earlier view of the same ruins may be cited—the so-called Asinaria. A copy of the first edition of this rare print of 1553 is preserved in the Gabinetto delle Stampe of the Galleria Corsini; *cf. Hermanin, Catalogo delle incisioni con vedute romane*, p. xlvii, no. 4. It bears the date 1553, and the legend “M.L. cum privilegio” (no doubt Michele Lucchese), *i.e.*, Michele Crechi of Lucca: *cf. Nagler, Monogrammisten*, iv, p. 623.

There was a re-issue of it in 1564, a copy of which, in the British Museum, is described by Cumberland, *Critical Catalogue of Rare and Valuable Italian Prints*, p. 524 no. 61. In this (I describe it from a copy in my own collection) the legends have been altered. That on the right-hand tablet has been re-engraved, though the wording of the first portion is identical; but the couplet,

“Chi predica al deserto perde la fatica el Sermone,
Et chi laua el capo al Asino perde la lescia el Sapone,”

has been added.

The tablet above in the centre, too, is different in the original plate, being there smaller, and having only the Latin legend. Further, the legends in the middle of the picture have been added. The satire is conjectured by Hermanin to have some literary bearing: it is indeed obviously directed against some persons who objected to scientific and literary pursuits, though it would seem that

in the time of Julius III. this would have had far less point than in 1564, directly after the meeting of the Council of Trent.

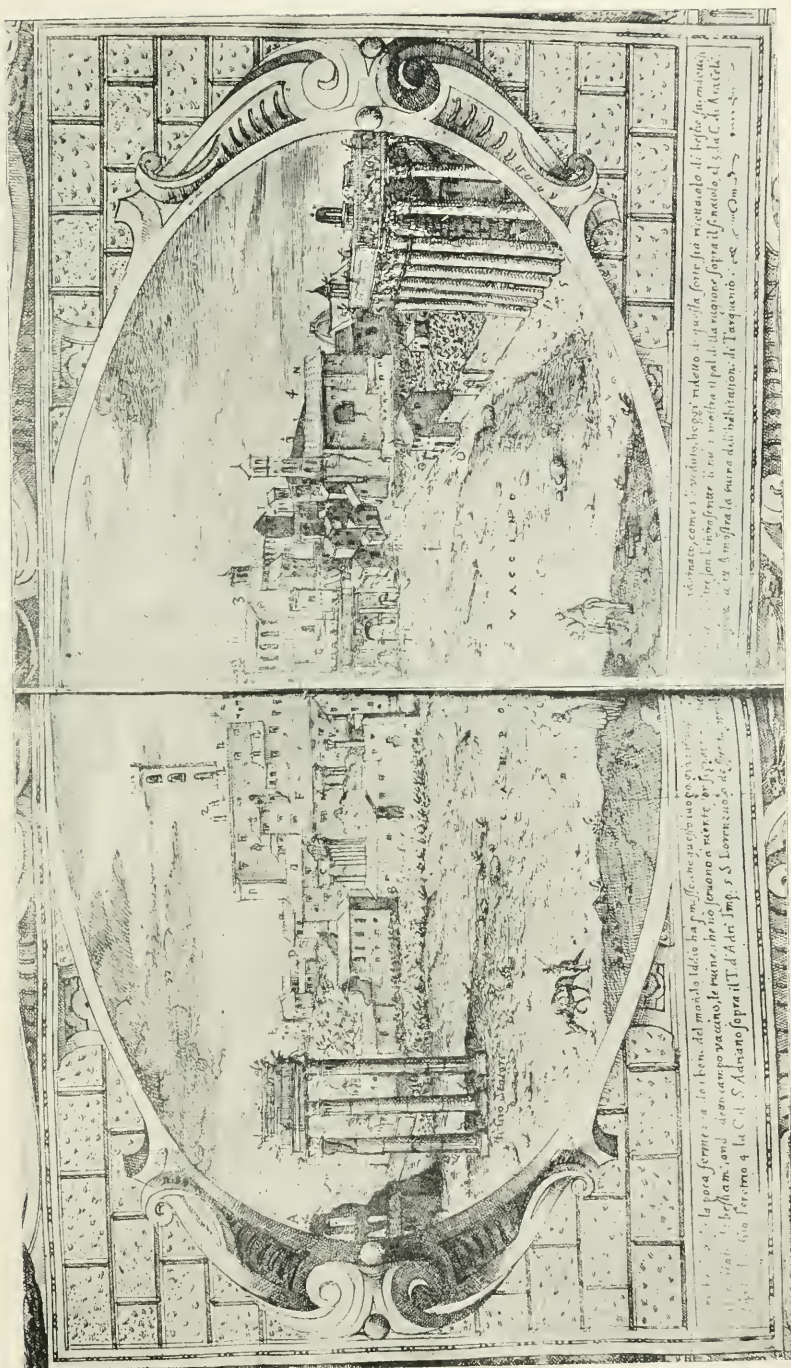
On f. 20 is a view of the Basilica of Constantine, which seems to be closely similar to Duperac, *Vestigii*, tav. 5: the large heap of fallen fragments of the roof is noticeable, and (as in other views of the period) we may see to what height the *débris* had accumulated in the interior by remarking that no trace is to be seen of the pillars which supported the south-west aisle. The last column, still seen in this drawing, was removed by Paul V. in 1613, and set up in front of S. Maria Maggiore.

On f. 21^v, 22 is a view (Plate V) of the south side of the Palatine and the valley of the Circus Maximus, again closely similar to Duperac, *op. cit.*, 11: while the views of the Septizonium (f. 23); of the Colosseum (f. 24); of the "trofei di Mario" (f. 25); of the Column of M. Aurelius (f. 27); of the Baths of Caracalla (29^v, 30); of the Baths of Diocletian (f. 31^v, 32); of the Pantheon (f. 33); and of the Amphitheatrum Castrense (f. 34), are all practically identical with the plates in this work, though the legends at the foot are slightly different. We get, however, the same name, "Scuola di Virgilio," for the Septizonium. The view of the Forum of Trajan (f. 26) (Plate VI, fig. 1) on the other hand, though it bears a very close resemblance to Duperac, *op. cit.*, 33, and is probably taken from it, shows a regular wall, with niches, surrounding the excavation in which the column of Trajan stands, whereas in Duperac's view it is simply a cutting in the earth. The date¹ is fixed as before 1580, by the fact that the church of S. Maria di Loreto has not as yet its baroque lantern, which was added in that year by Giacomo del Duca. Panciroli, *Tesori Nascosti* (1625), 295, tells us that it was completed in that year by means of a legacy of 9,000 scudi for the purpose. A view of it with the lantern already upon it will be found in *Le Cose meravigliose dell'alma città di Roma* (Francino, 1588), p. 32^v.

The view of the Temple of Neptune, on the other hand (f. 28), is taken partly from the view of Dosio, *Urbis Romae aedificiorum illustrium quae supersunt*

¹ This is the date of the origin of the view; but we have already seen (*supra*,

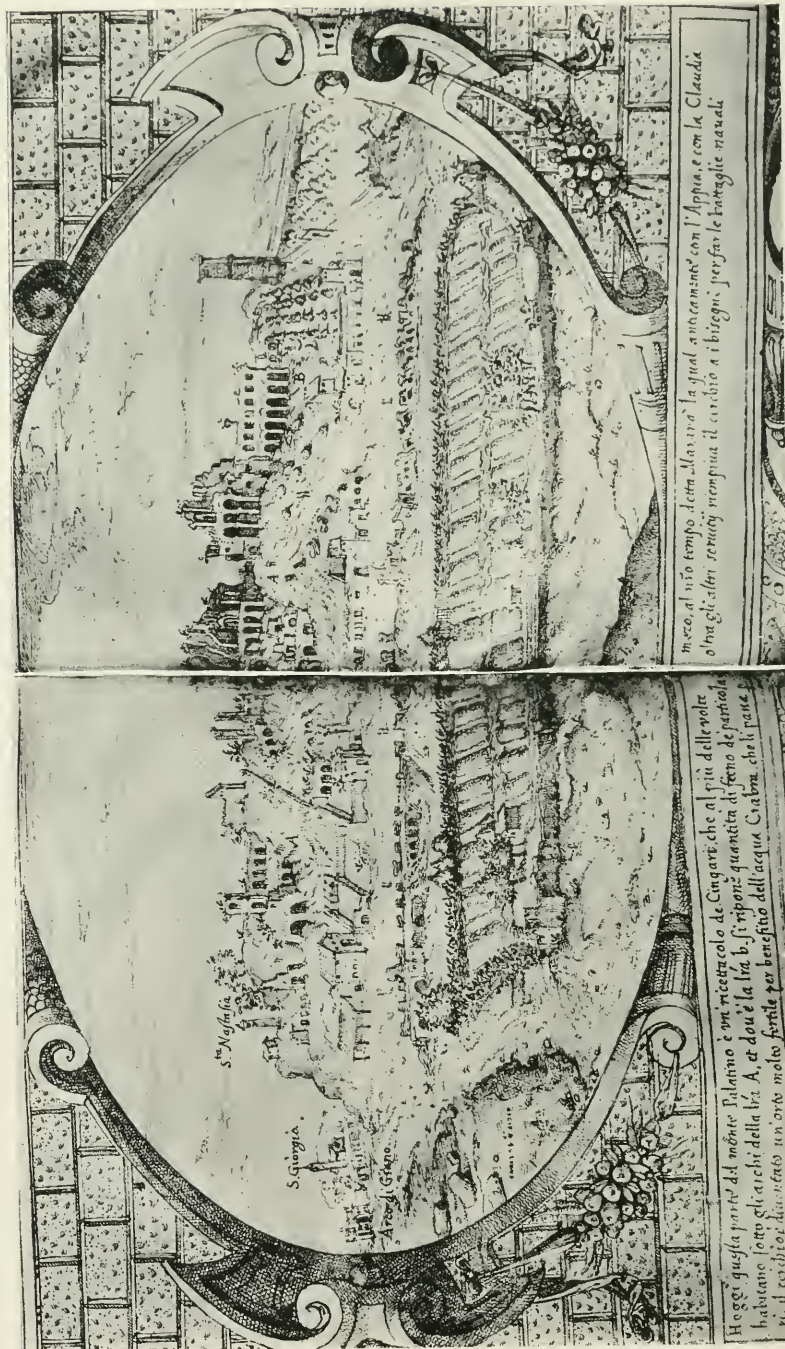
252) that the text can be more exactly dated to 1581.



THE FORUM ROMANUM, LOOKING TOWARDS THE CAPITOL. [F. 16^v, 17.]







THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE PALATINE AND THE VALLEY OF THE MAXIMS. [F. 21v, 22.]

reliquiae, 17, and Duperac, *op. cit.* 34 (right half). Of the details which occur in the former and not in the latter we may notice the small house in front of the fourth and fifth columns (counting from the left hand): the drawing betrays, however, some independent observation. With regard to the view of the Baths of Diocletian (f. 31^v, 32), we may notice that the church of S. Maria degli Angeli is spoken of as still in course of construction—probably in imitation of the legend of Duperac, “Hoggidi ui si fabrica il monasterio delli monaci della certosa.” The church, as a fact, was finished on June 5, 1566 (Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, ii, 137).

An exception to the general rule is formed by the view of the theatre of Marcellus, which bears distinct marks of having been taken from Dosio, *op. cit.*, 31, and not from Duperac; and by that of the statues of Castor and Pollux on the Quirinal, which is taken from a plate in the *Speculum Urbis Romae* of Lafreri, published in 1564 (*cf.* Michaelis in *Römische Mittheilungen*, 1898, 259 *sqq.*).

We may now turn to the restored drawings. Some of them are derived from sources which I have not yet been able accurately to fix, notably the restoration (f. 15^v, 16, Plate VII) of the Forum looking towards the Capitol (all the three important restored plans, or rather birdseye views, of ancient Rome of the latter half of the sixteenth century, to which I shall presently allude, take it from a different point of view, inasmuch as they have the west at the bottom, being taken from the Janiculum, the favourite point for sixteenth century plans and views), of the Forum Transitorium (f. 17^v, 18) and the Basilica of Constantine (19^v) (Plate VI, fig. 2), which again does not agree with the reconstruction given in any one of the three birdseye views of Rome as conjecturally restored which are mentioned below.

Others of them, of which I give no illustrations (f. 2^v, 3; 7^v; 20^v, 21; 24^v (these last two indirectly), 25^v; 26^v; 28^v, 29; 33^v; 35^v), are taken directly from the large *Urbis Romae Sciographia*, a birdseye view of ancient Rome as restored in eight sheets by Duperac, published in April, 1574,¹ and dedicated to Charles IX. of France.

¹ In the previous year he published a much smaller reconstruction, showing only the buildings of which remains

could actually be seen in the *Speculum Urbis Romae* of Lafreri (Quaritch).

In the dedication Duperac expressly mentions the use he had made of the fragments of the Forma Urbis, which he was permitted to copy by Card. Alessandro Farnese. His drawings, however, do not, unluckily, exist. The total size is 156 by 104 centimètres. The plates, engraved by Francesco Villamena, are still preserved at the Regia Calcografia at Rome (no. 1439). This plan (I adopt the name "plan" for brevity's sake) is much better than the large restored plan of Rome in twelve sheets by Pirro Ligorio,¹ which was published in 1561, without knowledge of the fragments of the Forma Urbis (which had not come to light in time for his use), and which, besides, contains many of the false denominations for ancient sites which he himself had invented.

A later plan still is that of Mario Cartaro, published in 1579, a unique copy of which exists in the British Museum, from which is taken the reproduction (on a smaller scale) of Plate XXIII in Rocchi's *Piante di Roma del Secolo XVI*. Of neither of these last two plans (though he must have known them both) did our author avail himself. It is interesting to notice that the authors of all three plans produced, either as a foundation for, or a complement to their theoretical reconstructions, a plan of the city as it was in their own day.

Pirro Ligorio in 1552 published his *Urbis Romae situs cum iis quae adhuc conspiciuntur veter. monument. reliquiis Pyrrho Ligorio Neap. Invent. Romae MDLII. Cum privilegio summi Pont. et Senat. Venet. Michaelis Tramezini Formis*.

It is a somewhat schematic plan, the ancient buildings being shown in many cases as restored, while the buildings of the modern city are not indicated with any great care, and rather as a setting for the ancient. Nor does

¹ *Effigies antiquae Romae ex vestigiis aedificiorum ruinis testimonio veterum auctorum, fide numismatum monumentis aeneis plumbaeis saxeis tiglinisque [sic] collecta atque in hanc tabellam redacta atque descripta a Pyrrho Ligorio Romano Pioque III Pont. Max. dicata excuderunt Romae Michael et Franciscus Tramezini MDLXI. Cum privilegio summi Pont. & Senat. Venet. Iacobus Bossius Belga. incidebat.*

The plates afterwards passed into the hands of "Gio Batista de Rossi in Piazza Nauona," and still later copies bear the imprint "presso Giovanni Scudellari." The plates (even if not still extant) cannot long have disappeared, inasmuch as the copies of Scudellari are printed upon comparatively modern paper.



it seem to have ever been published on a large scale, corresponding with that of his restored plan.

The plans of contemporary Rome of the other two artists are works of a higher calibre, but of surprising rarity. That of Duperac, in four sheets, was published by Antoine Lafreri three years after his large *Sciographia* under the title *Nova Urbis Romae Descriptio* and dedicated to Henry III. of France on December 1, 1577. I shall only speak briefly of it, as a copy of it was discovered in the British Museum by Father F. Ehrle several years ago, and will shortly be published by him. He regards it as the best plan of Rome of the latter half of the sixteenth century. A year and a half back a re-edition of this plan, dated 1640, came into my collection; from internal evidence it was obvious that it belonged to the time of Gregory XIII., and Father Ehrle, on hearing of it, suspected what it must be. The dedication has been changed by Giambattista de Rossi, into whose hands it had fallen, and the plan brought up to date in the main, but only to a certain extent.

Thus we find that the Palazzo Rospigliosi, built in 1603, has not been inserted, though the Palazzo Barberini has, and that the Temple of Minerva, in the Forum of Nerva, though destroyed in 1605, is still shown. In this connection it is worth noting that here we have a representation (the most distinct one known to me) of the arch which formed the south-west entrance to the Forum of Nerva. This is shown in the plans by Antonio da Sangallo the younger (*Uffizi*, 896) and Baldassare Peruzzi (*Uffizi*, 625) published by Lanciani in his article on *L'Aula e gli Uffici del Senato Romano* (from *Mem. Lincei*, 1882, Pl. I, II, cf. p. 22 of the text of the reprint), and in a drawing by an unknown artist from the Destail-Collection, now in the Kunstgewerbe-Museum at Berlin, leue which I hope to publish shortly.

I am now inclined to suppose that it is this arch that is represented in the panorama of Rome from S. Sabina of Anton van den Wyngaerde (*Mélanges de l'École Française*, 1906, Pl. IV-VII), and not as I conjectured in the text (p. 186) the gate leading into the Campo Torrecchiano shown by Heemskerk in two of his views, his large panorama of Rome, and another view of the

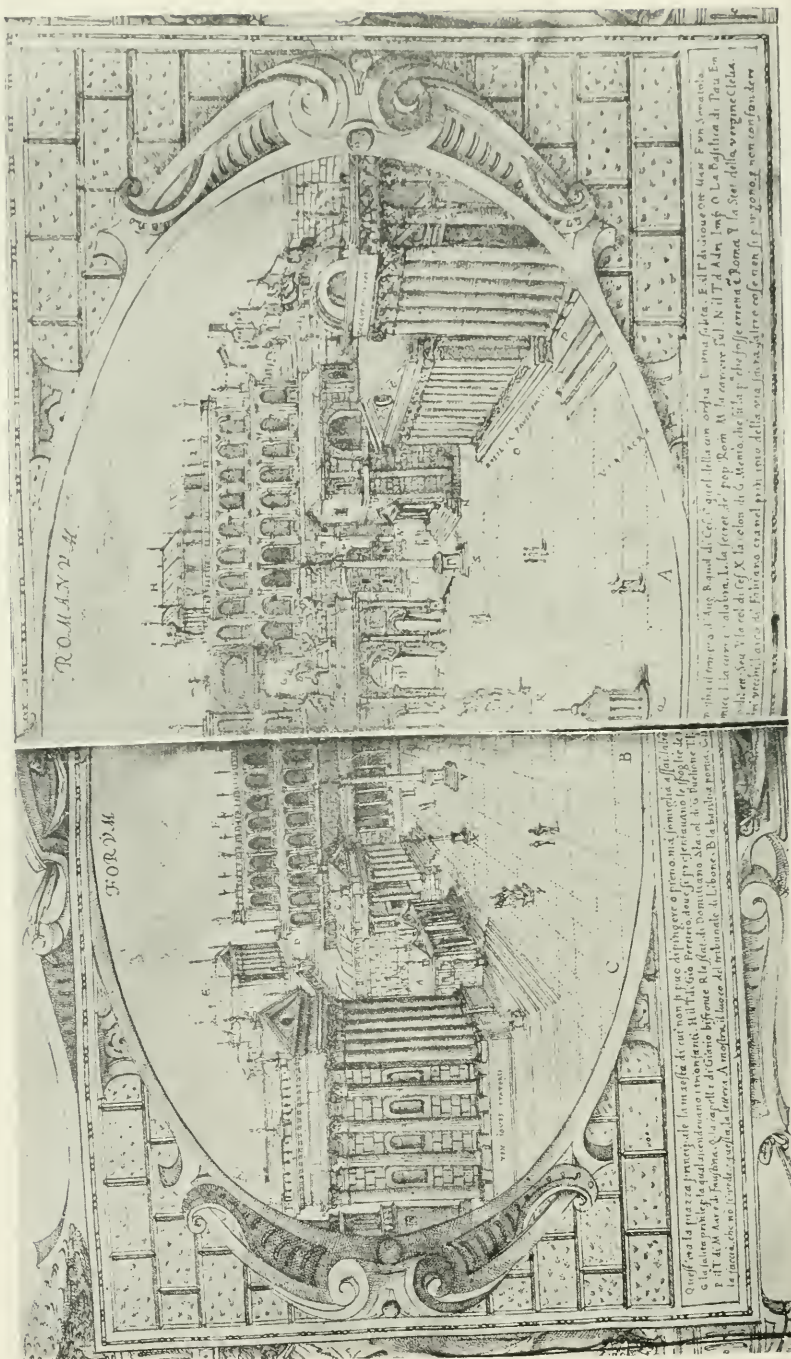
Forum (cf. Lanciani in *Bull. Com.* 1901, 24; and *ibid.*, 1888, tav. vii). The representation of the Horti Belleiani is also remarkably fine.

A third edition of our plan, with further modifications to bring it up to date, was published in 1646, with a new dedication. Father Ehrle has discovered a copy of it in the Vatican. There is thus only one copy known of each edition, and these plans are practically original documents. The plans of contemporary Rome by Mario Cartaro are two in number—the small one of 1575 and the large one of 1576; the latter being that which (as is expressly mentioned in the text to the restored plan of 1579) he had prepared three years before on the same scale. It is published from a unique copy in the Biblioteca Angelica by Rocchi, *Le Pianta di Roma del Secolo XVI*, tav. xvi, xvi *bis*, and pp. 80 *sqq.* of the text, and it measures 113 by 91 centimètres, the reproduction being slightly smaller. We must now return to the text and drawings which form the subject of this paper.

The authorship of the work is the great question, to which I cannot attempt to offer a certain solution; but having regard to its close relationship to (and yet slight though important independence from, in some points of detail) the works of Etienne Duperac of Paris, it seems to me not at all impossible that it is to be attributed to Duperac himself.

As we have seen, he was active in Rome at the period to which the drawings must from internal evidence be assigned. The style of the figures in the ornamental borders, which unfortunately are not shown in any of the illustrations to this paper, ought, one would think, to throw some light on the personality of the artist; but Dr. Hermann Egger, to whose kindness I appealed in the matter, has informed me that he has searched carefully for parallels and been unable to find any. I had the opportunity, however, of submitting the book to Mr. Sidney Colvin, Keeper of the Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, and to Messrs. Campbell Dodgson and Laurence Binyon of the same department, and they were of opinion that the style of the drawings was quite consistent with my hypothesis,





THE FORUM ROMANUM, LOOKING TOWARDS THE CAPITOL (RESTORED). [P. 15^v, 16.]

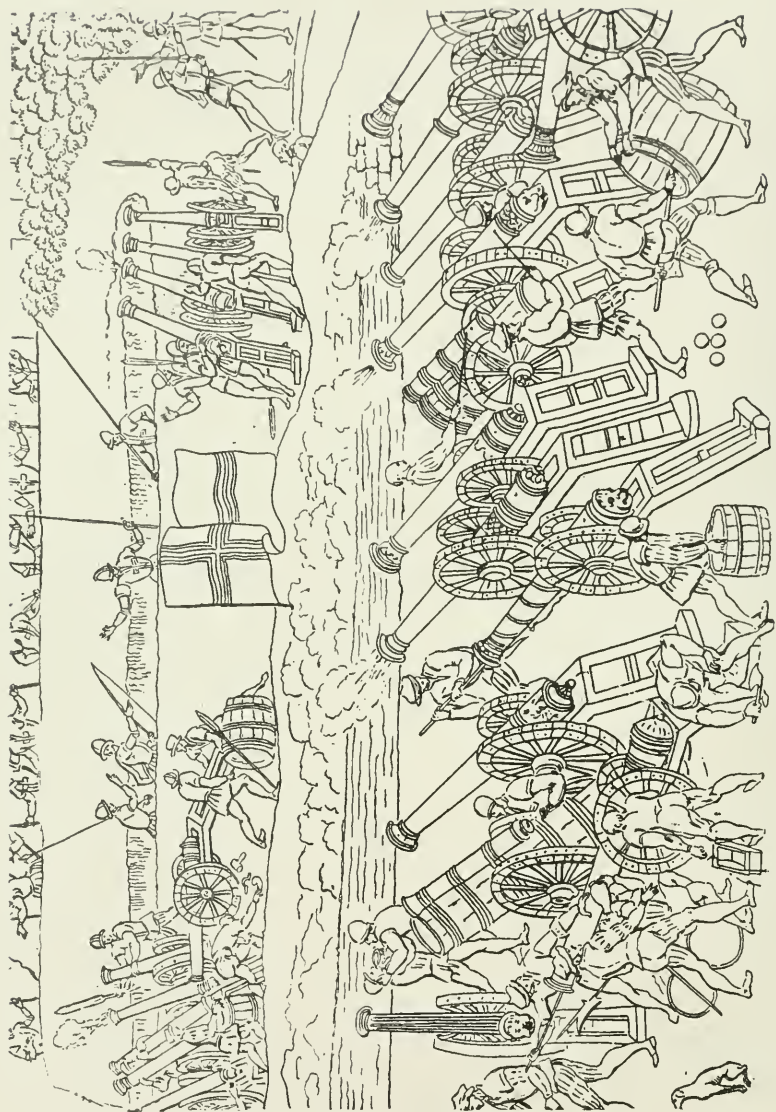
to which they saw no obstacle. The handwriting is too formal to give any decided indication.

I subjoin a short list of the contents of the MS. for handy reference. The original page number is added in brackets, where legible, but it has often been erased. Where it is determinable from internal evidence it is added in square brackets.

- f. 1. Title. f. 1^v. Blank. f. 2 [34]. Text (gummed to f. 1^v).
- f. 2^v, 3 (35). From Duperac's *Sciographia*, "Villa di L. Rustio" on the left, Pons Aelius on the right.
- f. 3^v, 4 (41). Text, *supra*, p. 247.
- f. 4^v. View of S. Peter's.
- f. 5 (43). Teatro di Belvedere.
- f. 5^v. Blank.
- f. 6 (46). Castle of S. Angelo. [Plate I, No. 1.]
- f. 6^v, 7 (49). Text, *supra*, p. 251.
- f. 7^v. The island restored, from Duperac's *Sciographia*.
- f. 8 (50). View of the island. [Plate I, No. 2.]
- f. 8^v, 9 (51). Text, *supra*, p. 251.
- f. 9^v, 10 [52]. View of the Velabrum, from Janus Quadrifrons to S. Anastasia (left half = Duperac, *Festigi*, 12). [Plate II.]
- f. 10^v, 11 (54). Text, *supra*, p. 253.
- f. 11^v, 12 [55]. The Forum Boarium restored, from Duperac's *Sciographia*.
- f. 12^v, 13 [56]. View of the Aventine and the Marmorata (left half = Duperac, *Festigi*, 33). [Plate III.]
- f. 13^v, 14. Text, *supra*, p. 253.
- f. 14^v. Porta Maggiore (restored).
- f. 15 [94]. The Capitol.
- f. 15^v, 16 (95). The Forum Romanum (restored). [Plate VII.]
- f. 16^v, 17 [96]. View of the Forum. [Plate IV.]
- f. 17^v, 18 [97]. The Forum Transitorium (restored).
- f. 18^v, 19 [98]. View of the Forum Transitorium (= Duperac, *Festigi*, 6).
- f. 19^v. Basilica of Constantine (restored). [Plate VI, No. 2.]
- f. 20 (99). View of the Basilica of Constantine (= Duperac, *Festigi*, 5).
- f. 20^v, 21 [100]. The Palatine and Circus Maximus (restored).
- f. 21^v, 22 [101]. View of the Palatine and the Circus Maximus (= Duperac, *Festigi*, 11). [Plate V.]
- f. 22^v. Septizonium (restored).
- f. 23 [102]. View of the Septizonium (= Duperac, *Festigi*, 13).
- f. 23^v. The Colosseum (restored).
- f. 24 [103]. View of the Colosseum (= Duperac, *Festigi*, 16).
- f. 24^v. Trofei di Mario (restored), from Duperac, *Sciographia* (indirectly).
- f. 25 (104). View of the Trofei di Mario (= Duperac, *Festigi*, 27).
- f. 25^v. The Forum of Trajan (restored), from Duperac, *Sciographia*.
- f. 26 (105). View of the Forum of Trajan (closely resembles Duperac, *Festigi*, 33). [Plate VI, No. 1.]

- f. 26^v. The column of M. Aurelius (restored), from Duperac, *Sciographia*.
- f. 27 (106). View of the column of M. Aurelius (= Duperac, *Vestigii*, 34, left half).
- f. 27^v. The temple of Neptune (so-called), restored.
- f. 28 (107). View of the temple of Neptune (*supra*, p. 258.)
- f. 28^v, 29 [108]. The baths of Caracalla (restored), from Duperac, *Sciographia*.
- f. 29^v, 30 (109). View of the baths of Caracalla (= Duperac, *Vestigii*, 19, 20).
- f. 30^v, 31 [110]. The baths of Diocletian, restored (slightly altered from Duperac, *Sciographia*).
- f. 31^v, 32 [111]. View of the baths of Diocletian (= Duperac, *Vestigii*, 28, 29).
- f. 32^v. The Pantheon (restored).
- f. 33 (112). View of the Pantheon (= Duperac, *Vestigii*, 35).
- f. 33^v. The Amphitheatrum Castrense (restored), from Duperac, *Sciographia*.
- f. 34 [113]. View of the Amphitheatrum Castrense (= Duperac, *Vestigii*, 26).
- f. 34^v. Theatre of Marcellus (restored).
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- f. 35^v. The Mausoleum of Augustus (restored), from Duperac, *Sciographia*.
- f. 36 [115]. View of the pyramid of Cestius (resembling the engravings of it in Lafreri's *Speculum*).
- f. 36^v. The arch of Constantine (restored).
- f. 37 [116]. The statues of Castor and Pollux on the Quirinal (= the plate in the *Speculum Urbis Romae*, reproduced by Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, p. 433, fig. 167; Quaritch, No. 199).
- f. 37^v, 38 [117]. The Naumachia of Domitian (restored), from Duperac, *Sciographia*.
- f. 38^v. Blank.

I desire in conclusion to express my great gratitude to Mr. Perrins for having entrusted me with the volume during the winter of 1906-7, thus enabling me to study the drawings in Rome itself, which immensely facilitated my work.



WOODEN CANNON IN THE BATTERIES BEFORE BOULOGNE. FROM AN ENGRAVING
OF A DESTROYED PICTURE IN COWDRAY HOUSE.



THE GUN CALLED POLICY.

By VISCOUNT DILLON, Hon. M.A. Oxon., V.P.S.A.

In *An Historical Account of the Curiosities of London and Westminster*, in three parts, written by Daniel Henry and printed for J. Newbury (by whose name the book is best known) will be found a full description of the Tower of London and everything curious, in and belonging to it, also the history of Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's, the Monument, London Stone, the City Gates and other antique remains. Lowndes gives 1772 as the date of this work, and adds that it was printed several times. The earliest edition I have met with is dated 1753, but this probably is not the earliest printed. *A New and Improved History of the Tower of London*, printed in 1821, by P. and F. Hack, has the same preface as Henry's work and is practically the same, brought up-to-date. The account of the menagerie (removed in 1834 to Regent's Park) varies in the different editions owing of course to the deaths and new arrivals in that collection.

Among the curiosities of the Tower, and grouped with "The spoils of the Invincible Armada," is one of peculiar interest, and which appears in the guides as late as 1840. But on October 30th, 1841, the Grand Storehouse, begun by James II. and finished by William III., was consumed by fire, and among the objects on the ground floor, which was occupied by the "Train of Artillery," is mentioned

"One of the wooden guns named Policy, successfully employed at the Siege of Boulogne in 1544 by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who commanded for King Henry VIII., in order to induce the Governor to believe the English were well provided with Artillery."

So says the 1840 guide. The earlier editions say that

"when Henry VIII. besieged Boulogne, the roads being impassable for heavy cannon, he caused a number of these wooden ones to be made, and mounted on proper batteries before the town, as if real cannon, which so terrified the French Commandant, that when he beheld such

a formidable train, as he thought, just ready to play, he gave up the town without firing a shot."

Of course this is all nonsense, but it was current as late as 1840.

Now these cannon, or at least the last surviving one, must have been very special pieces of ordnance, and it may be worth while to endeavour to find out what they were like.

We may best examine the accounts given in the State Papers of the period concerning the siege, and seek for contemporary notices of such guns. Unfortunately the State Papers, beyond giving lists of the artillery and ammunition employed,¹ make no mention at all of such wonderful cannon. But, as will be seen, we have a very early representation of these pieces and one which justifies partly the guide book tale.

The use of dummy guns has been mentioned in the late Russo-Japanese war, and in the Civil War in America of 1862-1865 so-called Quaker guns were used at Centreville and other places.

Cannon of material other than iron have also been employed. In the Arsenal at Venice is one, formerly stated to have been used in the war with Chioggia, but Major Angelucci considered that it belonged to the seventeenth century, and, like another in the artillery museum at Turin, was the work of an Italian or Fleming. The Venetian example is a fawcon, composed of a copper barrel bound with cord and leather. It is $34\frac{1}{2}$ inches long with a calibre of 14 inches, and has a chamber 11 inches long with a bore of $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It threw a stone shot of 117 lbs.

In 1690 one Andrew Hamilton in a *True relation of the action of the Enniskillen men*, says that Lord Galmoy captured Croom Castle, sixteen miles from that town, and made two enormous mock weapons of tin bound round with cord and covered with buckram of the colour of a cannon. They were drawn by eight horses with much noise. Some copper cannon also bound round with cord are mentioned as being used by Gustavus Adolphus in the Thirty Years' War. They were made by a Scotchman.

Actual wooden cannon have also been used in war : in

¹ See Note, 268.

the Rotunda at Woolwich, as also in the Royal United Service Museum in London, are wooden cannon bound with iron hoops, which were used in the Canadian rebellion in 1837.

In the description of the Cowdray pictures of the Siege of Boulogne, the writer says,¹

“Two of the guns in the Royal Battery are remarkably large and short, and very much resemble those wooden pieces shown at the Tower of London and said to have been devised by Henry VIII. to appear as great ordnance, and intimidate the besieged.”

Turning to contemporary accounts of these guns in a letter which though undated has been placed in the Calendar of Foreign State Papers under date September 15th, 1544, Chapuis, the ambassador of the emperor, says:

“The cause of the surrender (of Boulogne) seems to have been inability to endure longer the battery of the artillery, which has fired more than 100,000 shots, and moreover the English had footing in the wall in divers places. Besides they (the besieged) had not been required by the King of France to sustain the siege more than six weeks and had already endured it eight.”

The chroniclers are, however, silent on the subject of the guns. Hall in 1548, Grafton in 1569, Stow in 1592, Martin in 1638, and Baker in 1653 never mention them or any story connected with them. As to the legend, Hentzner, who in 1598 visited the Tower, was shown

“two pieces of cannon, the one fires three, the other seven balls at a time. Two others made of wood, which the English had at the siege of Boulogne in France, and by this stratagem, by which they could not have succeeded, they struck a terror into the inhabitants as at the appearance of artillery; and the town was surrendered upon articles.”

This seems to be the earliest mention of the story.

Lord Herbert of Cherbury in his *Life and Reign of King Henry VIII.*, written about 1640, and first published in 1719, says:

“and thus Boulogne was taken, without any mention in our diary (which Lord Herbert quotes as ‘extant in our records’) of cannon of wood coloured like brass which should be planted against the castle as tradition hath it.”

In 1602, Philip Julius, duke of Stettin-Pomerania, visited the Tower, and in his diary² says:

¹ *Archæologia*, iii, 251 *et seq.*

² Printed in *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 1892.

"Below this hall (a large store) there stood eighty large pieces, many of them having been taken from the Spaniards, also two wooden ones by which King Henricus Octavus, using a peculiar stratagem, gained Boulogne in France."

John Ernest, duke of Saxe-Weimar, when he visited England in 1613, mentions "two cannon of immense size, made of wood, which Henry took with him to strike terror into the enemy before Boulogne."

Now, in the engravings, executed in 1788 for the Society of Antiquaries, of the pictures in Cowdray House, unfortunately burnt in 1793, we notice in the batteries before Boulogne two curious pieces of artillery apparently consisting of huge bombards surmounted by much smaller barrels, much as a telescope might be fixed on a cannon or rifle barrel. None of the cannon in the picture, except these two, have this arrangement, nor are there any other pieces of this size. Some are certainly longer, some have the breech in the form of a lion's head, some with smooth, others with fluted chases, but these two are quite different from all the others. The material also appears to be different, for it will be noticed that there are longitudinal lines on them just as are seen on the powder barrels from which the gunners are drawing powder for the service of the guns. Again the piece on the right hand is being fired, and it will be noticed that the gunner applies the lintstock to the upper barrel, and no vent is seen on the lower and larger one. (Plate.)

We may therefore take the pieces in the picture to refer to the two guns mentioned in the legend and one of which, at least, was preserved up till 1840. There are so many false and absurd stories told about objects in the Tower by the warders of old times, that but for the survival till 1840 of such pieces one would be inclined to put the legend of "the gun called Policy" with the other fanciful tales, which, as a rule, date back only to 1660, when the armouries first became a show place for others than distinguished foreigners.

NOTE.

In *State Papers Domestic*, Henry VIII., vol. xix, part i, 1544. No. 1034 is a list of the distribution of the artillery at the siege of Boulogne, viz., total number of guns of each kind.

My L. Lieutenant, the first battery, cannons 3, demy cannons 3, culveryns 2, demy culveryns 2, sakers 3, pioneers 500.

The number of the ordnance, the second battery with the same number of guns, but only 400 pioneers.

My Lord Admiral, the third battery with the same numbers.

The number of the ordnance to the mount that is m . . . 6 sakers.

For the amount to the Watch Tower ward My Lord of Suffolk, demy culveryns 2, and sakers 4.

For a third mount, My Lord Admiral, demy culveryns 2, sakers 4.

Another list gives cannons 10, demy cannons 11, culverins 21, demy culverins 14, sakers 20, faukons 13, bombardes 5, cannon pery 1, besides 50 mortars, 20 privy wagons, 50 shrymps and 17 small faukons.

The amount of ammunition for the battery is given (1034-2) as :

The King for two days after 35 shot a day, cannon 140, demi cannon 140, culverin 700, demi culverin 210, powder $9\frac{1}{2}$ last.

My L. Lieutenant, cannon shot 280, demi cannon 280, culverin 280, demi culverin 560, powder $11\frac{1}{2}$ last.

My L. Admiral, cannon 280, demi cannon 350, culverin 420, demi culverin 280, powder $12\frac{1}{2}$ last.

This would make in all, cannon 700, demi cannon 770, culverin 1,400, demi culverin 1,050. In all 3,920 shot, $33\frac{1}{2}$ last of powder.

The weights are estimated for 12 days as:—

20 shot of 30 lb. for each of 3 cannon	= 1,800 lbs.	9 last of powder.
20 " " 20 " " " " 3 demi cannon	= 1,200 "	6 " " " "
20 " " 16 " " " " 3 culverins	= 960 "	4 last, $4\frac{1}{2}$ barrels, 20 lbs.
20 " " 9 " " " " 2 demi culverin	= 360 "	1 " $4\frac{1}{2}$ " 20 "
80 " " " " " " 11 pieces	= 4,320 "	20 " 9 " " 40 "

A last of powder = 2,400 lbs.

A barrel " " = 112 "



ARMOUR AND ARMS IN SHAKESPEARE.

By VISCOUNT DILLON, Hon. M.A. Oxon., V.P.S.A.

Many essays have been written by competent authorities on Shakespeare's acquaintance with law, medicine, botany, natural history, and other subjects, but I have not as yet come across any notes as to his knowledge of arms and armour, concerning which numerous passages occur in his dramatic works. It may, therefore, be permitted to note some of his references to such things. We must first remember that his personal history, unlike that of Ben Jonson and some other writers of his day, does not include any military service such as would account for a professional knowledge of arms and armour, and further that in his day armour was rapidly passing out of use. That such was the case we learn from the lament of some of the older soldiers, as on the occasion of Sir Philip Sidney's mortal wound received at Zutphen owing to his having fought without his cuishes or defence for the thighs, either because he had lent them to Sir William Pelham, or because, like so many other Englishmen, he considered the advantages of the wearing of armour to be counterbalanced by the extra weight, heat and other accompaniments of the practice. In 1593 Sir Richard Hawkins, speaking of such matters, says of his sailors, "Yet not a man would use them but esteemed a pott of wine a better defence than an armour of prooffe."

Then again, in considering the notices of arms and armour in Shakespeare's works, allowance must be made for the poetic licence : this has caused numerous anachronisms, and also it should not be forgotten that very often the name by which a piece of armour, and even of a weapon, was known in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, applied to a very different kind of thing in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Shakespeare makes many references to armour as a whole.

In *Measure for Measure*, I, ii, 171, we have unenforced penalties likened to "unscour'd armour hung by the wall," and in *Much Ado About Nothing*, Benedick speaks of the time when Claudio

Would have walked ten mile afoot to see a good armour.

The discomfort attending the wearing of armour is referred to in 2, *Henry IV*, iv, v, 30, where Majesty is said to be

Like a rich armour worn in heat of day,
That scalds with safety.

The old word "harness" for armour is not often met with in the plays, but

At least we'll die with harness on our back,

in *Macbeth*, is well known.

The poet, however, seldom speaks of the parts of a suit except when the head-piece is introduced, as in 2, *Henry IV*, iv, i, 104,

I saw young Harry, with his bevor on,
His cuisses on his thighs,

and in a few cases gauntlets are mentioned.

Like Amazons, come tripping after drums; Their thimbles into
armed gauntlets change.

King John, v, ii, 155.

A scaly gauntlet now with joints of steel
Must glove this hand.

2, *Henry IV*, I, 145.

In *Troilus and Cressida*, I, iii. 171, Ulysses tells how Patroclus at Achilles' desire mimics the aged Nestor,

And with a palsy fumbling on his gorget,
Shake in and out the rivet.

The familiar expression of "the armourers accomplishing the knights, with busy hammers closing rivets up," in the fine description of the eve of Agincourt, refers of course to the close adjustment of those pieces of the armour which consisted of small plates of metal, sliding when necessary, over other plates, the rivets working in slots. Continual use would make the pieces work loose, and in the preparation for battle the armourer's work was to remedy this, not by driving the rivets home, as is done in modern constructional steelwork, but merely by

tightening them. In *Troilus and Cressida* when Hector says to "*one in sumptuous armour*," v, vi, 29.

I like thy armour well;
I'll frush it, and unlock the rivets all,

he means that he will bruise and smash it and loosen the rivets.

We may now turn to the instances where head-pieces and their component parts are mentioned.

The portion of a head-piece that has given rise to most discussion is no doubt the bevor as used in *Hamlet*. It will be remembered that *Hamlet* on learning that his father's ghost had been seen "armed from head to foot" says, "Then saw you not his face." Now this may have been said as consequent on the complete armament of the ghost, or it may have been said interrogatively as in the *Globe* edition. On the former supposition, *Horatio's* answer, "O yes, my Lord, he wore his bevor up," is a sort of protest and explanation. In the latter case it is a direct answer to *Hamlet*.

Now the bevor of a helmet was the term used for the chin-piece of the close helmet, and was only moved when the helmet was put on or off, when it would be pushed forward on its pivots to allow of the head being introduced into or withdrawn from the metal box. Evidently in this quotation the bevor did not refer to the chin-piece. In *Troilus and Cressida*, i, iii, 288, *Nestor* says,

I'll hide my silver beard in a gold bevor,

and here the term is used as we should expect and refers to the actual bevor.

Now what was meant by the term in *Hamlet*? It would seem that the visor was understood; if that were raised, the face would be visible.

Again, in *Henry V*, iv, ii, 43, *Grandpré*, speaking of the English horsemen, says

Big Mars seems bankrupt in their beggar'd host,
And faintly through a rusty bevor peeps.

In 2, *Henry IV*, iv, i, 119, we have

Their neighing coursers daring of the spur,
Their armed staves in charge, their bevors down,
Their eyes of fire sparkling through sights of steel.

This clearly refers to the visors lowered for the forward rush in the tournament.

Turning to contemporary writers, Spenser in the *Faërie Queene*, iv, iii, 11, says that Cambell in his fight with Priamond

Pierst through his bevor quite into his brow
And again in vi, 25, Scudamor and Artegal

Their bevors up did reare,
And shew'd themselves to her such as indeed they were,
yet in the fight between Pyrracles and Guyon, Spenser describes how the latter received a blow that

Made him reel, and to his breast his bevor bent.

Here the chin-piece is clearly indicated.

The foregoing instances would seem to show that Shakespeare, like other poets of his day, often used the term bevor for what we call the visor, but he also used it in some pieces for the whole head-piece, as in the following.

Vernon recounts that :

I saw young Harry with his bevor on.

1, Henry IV, iv, i, 104.

The duke of York says of the duke of Buckingham,

I cleft his bevor with a downright blow ;

3, Henry VI, i, i, 12.

and Richard asks,

What, is my bevor easier than it was ?

Richard III, v, iii, 50.

Again turning to a contemporary writer in E. Fairfax's *Tasso*, printed in 1600, occurs "With trembling hand her bevor he untyed." The last Shakespearian quotation, taken with Fairfax, shows how loosely the term was applied in the poet's day.

Another instance of the careless use of terms is shown in the poem styled *Muiopotmos, or the Fate of the Butterfly*, also by Spenser. Clarion places on his head his glistening burganet,

On which two deadly weapons first he bore,
Strongly outlaunched towards either side,
Like two sharp speares his enemies to gore
Like as a warlike Brigandine applyde to fight
Layes forth her dreadful pikes afore the engines which in
them sad death doo hyde.

Now a brigandine was a coat composed of small plates of metal placed between two thicknesses of velvet silk or canvas, and was a flexible and good defensive garment. Spenser's description, however, applies exactly to the Black Carts in which, as may be seen from the drawings of the Cowdray pictures, two light cannon were placed with sharp spears projecting beyond the shield covering the guns.

Helm and helmet are found in Shakespeare, but without any distinction as we now use the terms: so also casque is found; but the morion and the cabasset, both common to the period, and the bascinet of earlier days still, are never mentioned.

Of the various kinds of swords spoken of by Shakespeare there is only one mention of the two-hander,¹ though in the chorus of Henry V, v, the "whiffler fore the king," refers to a man with such a weapon to clear the way. In 2, Henry IV, ii, iv, Doll Tearsheet calls Pistol a "basket-hilt stale juggler"; this is perhaps an anachronism, as the Schiavona hilt, the forerunner of the basket-hilt, does not appear till much after the date of the play. The back sword, or single-edged sword, was from early days the weapon of the middle and lower classes, and generally used in conjunction with the buckler or small target. Hotspur speaks of Prince Henry as

That same sword-and-buckler Prince of Wales.

Henry IV, i, iii, 230.

The falchion and ranger are not mentioned. The scimitar is spoken of in the Merchant of Venice, ii, i, 24, where it is in the hand of the prince of Morocco, in Troilus and Cressida, and also in Titus Andronicus. It never was an English weapon, and is no doubt the same as the "hoked baslarde" which we are told in Horman's *Vulgaria*, 1519, "is a perelse (perilous) weapon with the Turks."

The curtle-axe which Rosalind was going to wear was of course the cutlass (*couteau hache*) as in Henry V, iv, 2. In Spenser's *Faërie Queene*, iv, ii, 1141, the weapon is called a curt-axe.

The rapier, which was introduced from abroad in Elizabeth's day, is referred to in very many places and

¹ 2, Henry VI, ii, i, 46.

sometimes by itself, sometimes with the dagger or *main gauche*, used for parrying, as the buckler had been, but with the point upward, not downwards as is often seen in modern drawings. The Merry Wives of Windsor, the two parts of Henry IV, Romeo and Juliet, and lastly Hamlet, abound in notices of this weapon. That it was not solely a sticking weapon has been shown by writers such as Hutton, Castle, and others, while the expression "dubbed with unhacked rapier," which occurs in Twelfth Night, shows there was an edge to it. It has been said above that the rapier was introduced into England in Elizabeth's day, but the word occurs in 1547 in the Inventory of Arms, etc., of Henry VIII. The new weapon was not liked in England except by those who used it, and a certain amount of ridicule is thrown on the new vocabulary connected with it, both in Romeo and Juliet and in Hamlet. Falstaff, in the description of his imaginary fight with the men in buckram, used an expressive though uncommon phrase, "I am a rogue if I were not at *half sword* with a dozen of them two hours together."

An interesting passage connected with the sword occurs in Othello, v, ii, 253, where he says,

It is a sword of Spain, the ice-brook's temper.

Now swords are not tempered in cold but rather warm water of varying heat, according to the idea of the swordsmith, and though some writers have gone so far as to identify the river Xalon with this operation, yet if we refer to the earliest edition of the play we find it is "Isebrook's temper." Now in the sixteenth century Innsbruck, whence the best steel was imported into England for armour, etc., up till about 1640, was known to Englishmen as Isebrook. This explains the mixture of Spain and Germany in Othello's remark. The sword was Spanish by origin but with the excellent temper associated with Innsbruck metal.

The swordsmith stamp known in England as the Fox, in Spain as the Perillo or dog, both varieties of the old Passau wolf mark, gives occasion for many *jeux de mots* in plays by Shakespeare and his contemporaries. We may note Pistol's "Thou diest on point of Fox," and Hamlet's

“Hide Fox and after all” when he sheaths his sword after killing Polonius.

The sword in Shakespeare is in many instances referred to in connection with an oath, or as emphasis. Thus in *Much Ado About Nothing*, IV, i, Benedick says “By my sword, Beatrice, thou lovest me.” In *Winter’s Tale*, II, iii, Leontes makes Antigonus “swear by this sword thou wilt perform my bidding,” and in the next act of the play Cleomenes and Dion are sworn upon “this sword of justice” that they have not broken the seal nor read the secrets of the message from the Delphic oracle. In *Richard II*, I, i, Mowbray swears “by that sword which gently laid my knighthood on my shoulder,” that he will answer Bolingbroke in any trial as to his innocence in the matter of the treason alleged against him. In I, *Henry IV*, v, i, Douglas at the battle of Shrewsbury swears by his sword to kill all the wearers of the king’s coats. In *Henry V*, II, i, when Bardolph swears he will kill the first who makes a thrust, *i.e.* either Nym or Pistol, the latter says, “Sword is an oath and oaths must have their course.” In 2, *Henry IV*, v, iii, Salisbury, addressing Richard duke of York, after the battle of St. Albans, says, “Now by my sword well hast thou fought to-day.” In *Antony and Cleopatra*, I, iii, Antony swears “now by my sword.” Shakespeare taking the two arms of the Englishman of his day into classic times makes Cleopatra add “and target.” In *Hamlet*, I, v, Marcellus and Horatio are sworn by Hamlet “upon my sword” never to reveal what they have seen of the ghost. Falstaff also swears “by those hilts or I am a villain else.”

Of the dagger and the poniard we have plenty of notices, though the skene of Ireland and Scotland are not mentioned. In *Macbeth* of course there are the real daggers that Lady Macbeth demands, and the “dagger of the mind” that her husband sees, which later on his wife refers to as “the air drawn dagger which you said led you to Duncan.” In this play we have reference to the dudgeon or boxwood of which the dagger handles or hilts were so often made. In *Twelfth Night*, IV, ii, and I, *Henry IV*, II, iv, the theatrical “dagger of lath” is spoken of, and in the latter play “a dagger of lead” also occurs.

To the dagger, used in conjunction with the sword in duels, there are numerous references in *Romeo and Juliet* and in *Hamlet*. Of course, the "six French rapiers and poniards" in *Hamlet* refer to the *main gauche* held point upward for parrying.

In *Much Ado About Nothing*, v, i, we have another reference to the position of the dagger. When Don Pedro says, "I think he be angry indeed," Claudio replies speaking of Benedick, "If he be, he knows how to turn his girdle," implying that he can bring his dagger round to his hand.

It is difficult to say in what respect the dagger and the poniard differed, and in *Hamlet* in the scene of the proposed fencing match between the prince and Laertes, both words are used with reference to the sword and dagger fight. In *Much Ado About Nothing*, Beatrice "speaks poniards, and every word stabs," and *Hamlet*, III, ii, says, "I will speak daggers to her but use none."¹ Fighting with sword and dagger is referred to in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, in *Hamlet*, and in *Romeo and Juliet*, also in *Measure for Measure*. As to its place in dress, there is a variety of notices. In *Henry V*, iv, i, Pistol is warned not to wear his dagger in his cap. In *Romeo and Juliet*, v, iii, the custom of wearing the dagger behind and not in front as in earlier times, is illustrated by Capulet's reference to Romeo's dagger with which Juliet has slain herself.

This dagger hath mista'en—for, lo,
His house is empty on the back of Montague.

Macbeth's

A dagger of the mind, a false creation,
Proceeding from the heat-oppressed brain,

is, of course, familiar to all.

As to wearing the dagger behind the back this may have been the custom in civil life, and certainly in Derrick's *Image of Ireland* (1586) the soldiers also are so shown, but in 1591 Sir John Smith says, "they should wear their daggers, not upon their girdles at their backs, but hanging down upon their right thighs before them after the old English fashion." Certainly Henry VIII

¹ In a similar sense Guiderius in *Cymbeline* iv, ii, says to Cloten: "Thy words, I grant, are bigger: for I wear not a dagger in my mouth."

and others are shown in pictures as wearing the dagger in front, so the other position may have been the foreign custom, but that they were worn on the slant is shown by the expression in *The Complaynt of Scotland* (1548) of the ship's yards being "daggerwise," that is, as sailors call it, cock billed. This method of setting the yards used to be general as a sign of mourning.

Harrison, in his description of England, says, "Seldom shall you see any of my countrymen above eighteen or twenty years old to go without a dagger at the least, at his back or by his side."¹

Thos. Becon, in *The Jewel of Joy*, says of the Englishman, "Their dagger must be Scottish with a Venetian tassell of silk."

Of fire-arms, only the musket, the caliver and the pistol, so far as weapons are concerned, are mentioned in Shakespeare, and the birding-piece only occurs in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, where the curious habit of discharging them up the chimneys reminds one that the unloading of a charged gun was a troublesome affair.

"The smoky muskets," we find in *All's Well that Ends Well*, III, ii, while in "How now, my eyas-musket?" in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, we see the origin of the name, the endearing term "eyas-musket" referring to the young of a species of sparrow-hawk from which the musket took its name.

Of the caliver we have a distinct appreciation as a lighter gun than the musket, in the fact of its being put into the hand of Wart, one of Sir John Falstaff's very ragged and feeble recruits. In I, Henry IV, IV, ii, Falstaff's remark that some of his men "fear the report of a caliver worse than a struck fowl or a hurt wild duck," suggests the idea that the caliver was used for sport as well as for military purposes. Neither match nor flint as used in connection with fire-arms is met with in any of the plays. As to Pistol, there are many jokes on the name of the impudent bully in the plays in which he

¹ In Cotton's *Scarronides*, 1664, occur the words "with dudgeon dagger at his back." The will of Ralph Campton (Durham), 1594, mentions a punadoc dagger, 12*d.*; the will of John Holcroft,

1559, "one northern dagger with two knives and a bodkyn;" Sir William Booth's will, 1579, "my dropper or hanger;" finally in the will of Richard Rawstone, 1593, we find, "my pocked dagger."

appears, and in *Pericles*, I, i, we have an anachronistic mention of the word.

The dag, tack, and petronel,¹ though all in use in the poet's day, are never referred to.

Of staff weapons Shakespeare alludes to several. In the *Comedy of Errors*, v, i, the Duke calls out "Guard with halberds." In 3, *Henry VI*, iv, iii, the watchmen of the royal tent say, "Unless our halberds did shut up his passage," and in *Richard III*, I, ii, Gloucester threatens the gentlemen attending the funeral of *Henry VI*,

Advance thy halberd higher than my breast,
Or by St. Paul I'll strike thee to my foot.

The partisan is anachronistically mentioned in *Cymbeline*, and twice it occurs in *Romeo and Juliet* with other weapons, while in *Hamlet*, I, i, the officer Marcellus offers to strike the ghost with this weapon.

The bill, sometimes described as rusty and sometimes as brown, is mentioned in several plays. This weapon—which in peaceable times with its shaft shortened, and so used as a hedge bill—was one of the rallying cries of the English soldiers when "Bows and Bills" alarmed the camp.

The spear and the boar-spear are frequently mentioned, and the only difference between them appears to have been that the boar-spear for the chase had a crossbar just below the head to prevent it entering too far. In the time of *Henry VIII* there were military spears called boar-spears with broad heads and without the crossbar. Many of these are still to be seen in the Tower.

Of the pike we have many notices, but the most interesting is that in *Henry V*, when Pistol asks the king the night before the battle "Art thou officer? or art thou base common and popular?" When Henry replies, "I am a gentleman of a company," Pistol asks, "trail'st thou the puissant pike?" We must remember that in Shakespeare's day the pike was an honourable weapon, and in 1596 Sir William Ward wrote in praise of the pike, and speaks of this weapon as being "put into the hands of the skilful and experienced soldier." He also notes that

¹ The petronel was a weapon in which a stone, either flint or, as in the wheel

lock, iron pyrites, was used for discharging the gun instead of a match.

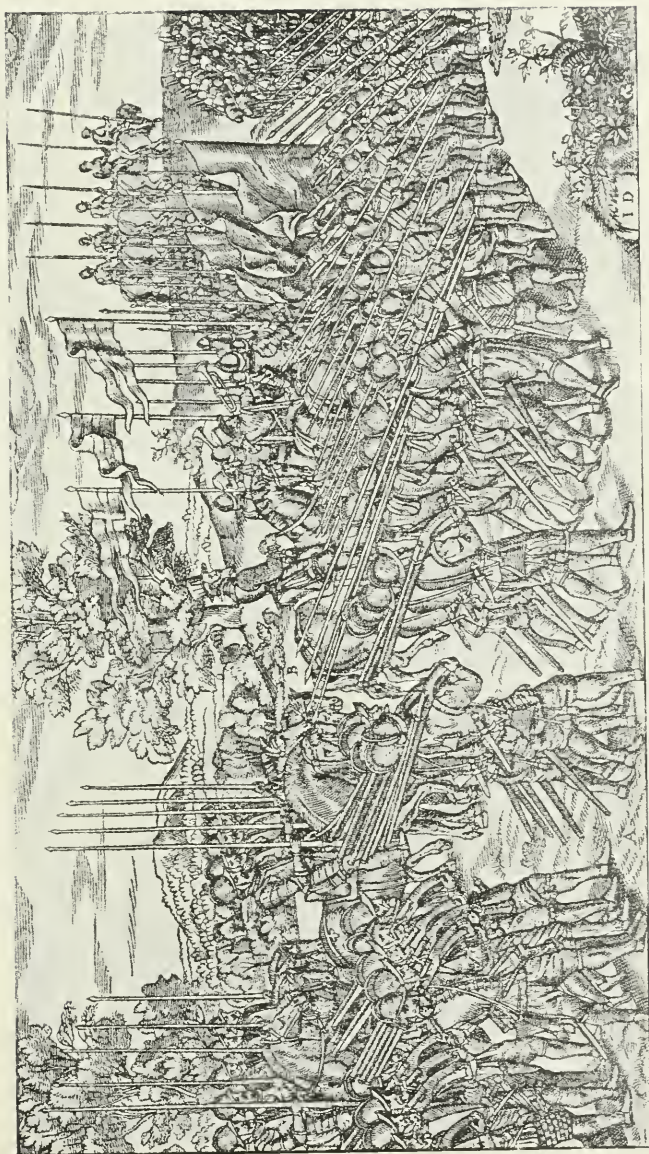
the French did not have any great number of pikemen "not having such personable bodies" as the English. Brantome also speaks of the excellence of the Spanish pikemen, and mentions one who though of great age would never accept a place of command but was nevertheless often consulted on military matters by the Prince of Parma. The pike of Elizabethan days was a weapon some eight to nine feet long with a small head whose length was about five or six inches only. In Lant's drawing of the funeral of Sir Philip Sidney in 1586 we see a pikeman trailing his pike downward in token of mourning. In Derricke's *Image of Ireland*, 1581, the pikes are some twelve feet in length and we know that later on they reached a length of sixteen to eighteen feet.

The lance of course occurs often, and in *King Lear*, iv, vi, the "strong lance of justice" is mentioned. Only in *Winter's Tale* and in *Othello* does the poet speak of the sword of justice.

Artillery is introduced largely, and regardless of date, into the plays, as in *Winter's Tale*, *King John*, *Hamlet*, etc. The basilisk, a gun throwing a shot of about 48 lbs., is often referred to metaphorically, but only in 1, *Henry IV*, ii, iii, and *Henry V*, v, ii, as a real piece of ordnance.

The cannon with a bore of eight inches and throwing 63 lbs. of iron is generally mentioned as a generic term, but in 1, *Henry IV*, ii, iii, though anachronistically introduced, it may by its association with basilics and culverins refer to the large piece of Shakespeare's day. The culverin only occurs in that passage, and is, of course, one of those names derived from *couleuvre*, a snake or adder.

Another such word is the sling. In *Henry V*, iv, vii, Shakespeare refers to the Assyrian sling, but in *Hamlet* it may be that "The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" refer to cannon rather than to the sling as we know the word now. It must be remembered that in the sixteenth century amongst the many kinds of cannon were slings, three-quarter slings, half-slings, and quarter-slings; the first throwing balls of two-and-a-half lbs. These cannon took their names from their German prototypes the *Schlange*, a word meaning snake or serpent. The sling as a weapon, of course, became popular



AN ENGLISH ARMY ON THE MARCH IN IRELAND, 1586. FROM DERRICKE'S "IMAGE OF IRELAND," PL. 8.

in the wars of the Fronde in France, but that struggle did not begin until some thirty years after Shakespeare's day.

The mace in Henry V, iv, i, is associated with the sword and crown, imperial and other external signs of majesty, and is of course not the weapon as mentioned in the Comedy of Errors, iv, iii. The battle-axe is only mentioned in Titus Andronicus, III, i, and the poll-axe in Love's Labour Lost, v, ii.

In Henry IV, II, iv, a weapon is mentioned of which it is difficult to ascertain the nature. Falstaff speaking of Glendower says that he "swore the devil his true liegeman upon the cross of a *Welsh hook*." This sounds like a Jedburgh or Lochaber axe, a weapon having at the back of the axe head a hook, variously supposed to be for pulling a horseman off his horse or for cutting the reins, when the inside of the hook is sharp like a knife. There was a great variety of weapons of this nature, and wild people like the Scotch and the Welsh no doubt had many peculiar weapons.

THE TUDOR BATTLE FLAG OF ENGLAND.

By VISCOUNT DILLON, HON. M.A. OXON., V.P.S.A.

The "Standards and Colours of the Army" is a subject which has received attention from various writers, but as is natural, those who have written about this interesting part of military equipment have limited their notices to the period which witnessed the rise and development of the standing army as an institution. Mr. Samuel M. Milne in his handsome volume published in 1893, of which, unfortunately for the general reader, only 200 copies were printed, has dealt most fully with the subject between the years 1661 and 1881, devoting also one short chapter to the "ordering and arrangement of regimental flags during the Civil War." It may therefore be of interest to some to consider the battle flags carried by English armies before 1642.

Sir Harris Nicolas in his valuable work on the battle of Agincourt, published in 1827, presents as a frontispiece the banners borne at that battle. Of these the English carried those of St. George, St. Edward, St. Edmund and the Trinity, and the royal standard of Henry V. Some of these banners were probably seen in France in the wars of Edward III. As to the flags carried in Tudor times we must refer to the engravings of the pictures unfortunately destroyed by fire at Cowdray House in 1793. Luckily we have in these engravings¹ plenty of authorities for the subject. Most of the pictures were engraved in outline only, and we there get only the designs of the flags, but in one picture representing the encampment of the English forces near Portsmouth, July 19th, 1545, the engraver has, by the system of heraldic drawing adopted by Peter Sancta, preserved for us the colours of some of the flags. Allowance must be made in this, as in the engraving of the Hampton Court picture of the embarkation of Henry VIII. at Dover, for

¹ Published in 1788 by the Society of Antiquaries.

the change which time and varnish have effected in some of the flags shown. Whites have turned to yellows and have been rendered as such by the engraver, who evidently did not regard the subjects he was dealing with very intelligently.

In the picture of the siege of Boulogne are many representations of battle flags. Reading these from left to right we have the following: In the upper part are cavalry issuing from "St. Anthony Browne's camp": a horseman carries a two-tailed flag apparently barré of red and white, and on the part next to the staff is a stag trippant within the garter.¹ The infantry carry a flag with a St. George's cross. Another small body of infantry also have the St. George's flag. Below these a man waves a flag having St. George's cross next the staff and the rest barré of white and green, three of each. Below these are the Irish troops with "a prey of cattle," preceded by a bagpiper, but without a flag. Further to the right, and just outside the "monte," the latter flag is again seen. Near the gallows, a clump of men bear a flag barré of green and white but without St. George's cross in the chief. Below this again is a body of cavalry with three flags, the first a square one with St. George's cross and a fimbriation, the second a square flag with a figure of St. George riding over the dragon, and the third a standard fringed and slit, on which is a lion passant and crowned, with fleurs-de-lis on the field. The St. George banner has a sort of bordure or fringe. Next, in the trench is displayed a plain cross of St. George, and this is repeated further on. Below and in front of the artillery is a flag with St. George's cross with double fimbriation.

In the picture of the embarkation of Henry VIII. at Dover, we have in the foreground the two forts, Archcliff to the west and the Black Bulwark to the east. From each of these forts are displayed flags. For our present purpose we may omit the flags borne by the ships and, with one exception, by the boats. The flag on the Archcliff fort is shown as composed of barré, white, green, red, white, green. It is probable that the red represents the

¹ A stag trippant ducally gorged and chained or, a Montagu crest.

two horizontal arms of a St. George's cross, the vertical arms being hidden by the folds of the flag. The boat close to this fort has in it besides four men, a fifth bearing a flag similar to that on the fort, and, as in that one, the vertical limbs of St. George's cross are hidden. The flag displayed on the Black Bulwark is a plain St. George's cross.

In the Cottonian manuscript, Aug. iii., f. 4, is a representation of the army of Henry VIII. in conflict with another. The latter bears flags having a white cross on a coloured ground, while Henry's army displays five flags, each with a St. George's cross.

The picture, No. 331 at Hampton Court, of the meeting of Henry VIII. and the emperor Maximilian at the siege of Terrouenne, or Tervane as it is called in the picture, shows in the upper part of it, not as described in the guide to Hampton Court, "the grand tournament," but the battle of Guinegate, known to us as the battle of the spurs, from the use made of them by the French in their overthrow. The flags shown are triangular banners, the English bearing St. George's cross, the French a white cross on a blue field. In the lower part of the picture the English standard-bearer displays St. George's cross, while the emperor's holds the Burgundian cross ragulé! This meeting took place on August 9th, 1513. In the large picture of the Field of Cloth of Gold, also at Hampton Court, no banners nor standards are shown.

The best documentary evidence that we have with regard to the Tudor flag is in connection with Calais. We know that the town was taken on January 7th, 1558, and the whole Pale was for ever lost to the English crown by January 22nd when Guines had been captured and Hammes abandoned. Too late, Mary set about repairing this loss, and her chief idea seems to have been to attempt the recapture of this lost possession by the aid of foreign mercenaries. For this purpose negotiations were commenced through the famous Sir Thomas Gresham, and in May the queen writes to him that, understanding from Sir William Pickering that the colonel of the Germans, to be provided for her service, requires to have ten ensigns or banners provided against the musters, Gresham is to confer with Sir William Pickering therein

whether these ensigns have been accustomed to be allowed by other princes in like cases. If so, Gresham is to cause them to be provided after such sort as is customary in the country, saving that she wishes them to have thereon her colour, namely, white and green with red crosses.

In explanation of the foregoing, it must be noted that Philip and Mary mutually appointed one Sir William Wallerthum to be colonel of ten ensigns of German infantry consisting of 3,000 men brought from Saxony and Eastland for the defence of England during the next six months, in consequence of the war with France.

The pay of the soldiers was to be four Rhenish guilders per month, the chirurgeon to have thirty-two and the hangman sixteen florins per month.¹

Each ensign or company was to consist of 400 foot, of which 150 were to be armed pikes, 150 pikes and 100 gunners. The cost of entertainment of 3,200 men with their officers and colours amounted in all to £4,680 16s. 8d. A little later Sir Thomas Gresham informs the queen that the colours will cost one with another seven pounds each.

Henry VIII. had at times in his employ several Spanish captains and Edward VI. had in the Scottish campaign some Italian troops, but we can find no mention of any of these having colours. As the negotiations with Colonel Wallerthum came to nothing, it is probable that these colours were never made, and Mary's death on November 17th closes the incident.

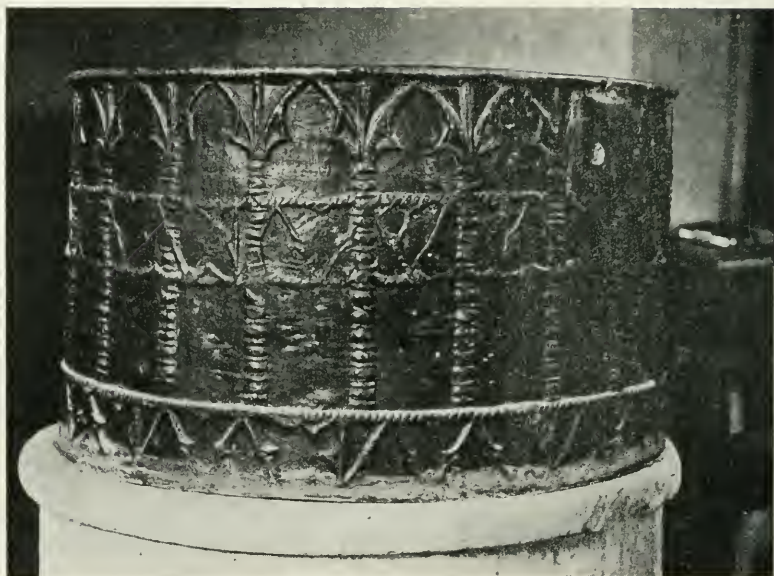
However, this Calais affair shows that the Tudor white and green of Henry VIII.'s time continued at least to the date of Elizabeth's succession to the throne.

In Derricke's *Image of Ireland*, written in 1578, but published in 1581, we have a valuable set of drawings which vary in merit from rude representations of the Irish, amounting almost to caricatures, up to a very well-drawn plate showing an English army on the march (see plate facing page 280). Yet these drawings still afford some information concerning the military flags of the period. These plates, twelve in number, were reproduced in fac-

¹ The florin of the Rhine was worth 4s. 2d.

simile in 1883 from a copy of the work in the Drummond Collection in the library of Edinburgh University. Sir Walter Scott, in editing the book in vol. i of Lord Somers' Tracts in 1809, reproduced eight of these plates, but among those omitted was the eighth, on which a few notes may be of interest. Here we see the main body of cavalry preceded by three pennons, each bearing a cross of St. George, with the fly split into two parts for about half its length. The infantry flags are quite plain, but the omission of St. George's cross from them is no doubt due to the engraver. In the ninth plate the one cavalry pennon is shown as in the preceding drawing, but the infantry flag with its short staff, as usual in those days, bears St. George's cross. The seventh plate shows the cavalry pennons and the infantry flags, in this case with long staves, all with the cross. There is no indication in this work of the colours, but it is quite clear that the Tudor green was absent from them.





LEADEN FONT AT HARESFIELD, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON LEADEN FONTS.
THE HARESFIELD BOWL.¹

By ALFRED C. FRYER, Ph.D., M.A., F.S.A.

In a paper on "Leaden Fonts," printed in the *Archaeological Journal* for 1900,² I stated that the number of leaden bowls was twenty-seven. A little later two more were discovered; one was the circular bowl in Holy Trinity church, Penn, Buckinghamshire. This bowl was coated over with colour, and it was believed to be constructed of stone until, by an accident, it was found to be made of lead. The other was a rectangular vessel standing on the lawn of Greatham House, Pulborough, Sussex, and was doubtless discarded at the restoration of the adjacent church some forty years ago, when a new font was placed in the sacred edifice. The two fonts were duly recorded in the *Archaeological Journal*.³ So, with the Haresfield bowl, we appear to possess as many as thirty leaden fonts in England.

The font at Haresfield, Gloucestershire, has been an unsolved puzzle for many years (Fig. 1). This font has a diameter of 1 foot $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the external depth of the bowl is 1 foot $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch. It is painted a dark green colour, and this appears to have deceived some authorities, who have placed it down as an example of a bell-metal font. I was permitted by the churchwarden to remove a small fraction of the material, and on submitting it to chemical analysis the fact is now established that the bowl is made of lead. The ornamentation has given rise to various conjectural dates being assigned to its construction. The bowl is adorned with twenty-two pointed arches having cusplings. These arches rest on shafts formed of some twenty-six beads. Round the centre and

¹ Read before the Institute December 2nd, 1908.

² See *Arch. Journ.*, lvii, 40.

³ *Arch. Journ.*, lxiii, 97.

at the bottom of the bowl are bands of ornament composed of quatrefoils and triangles placed in squares. Mr. W. St. John Hope, M.A., Mr. Laurence Weaver, F.S.A., Mr. Bligh Bond and Dr. Alfred Harvey have come to the conclusion that this font is well in the Gothic period, and its construction may be assigned to the early years of the fourteenth century. The arches, the tracery and the cusplings are most unlikely to be post-Gothic, while the bands of ornamentation round the base and centre are similar to many parapets of fourteenth century work.¹ The buttoned shafts present the chief difficulty. Mr. Hope considers the beading to be a plumber's trick, and Mr. Bligh Bond remarks : "As for the buttoned shafts, these also appear to me quite as likely to be characteristic of the earlier date, since we know that there are a good many instances of early woodwork (thirteenth and fourteenth century) which exhibit small shafts with turned caps and bands used as mullions ; also the type of buttoned work on the Haresfield font seems much more like that seen on early furniture than that one observes as a seventeenth century ornament."

¹ St. Mary Redcliffe, Wells, St. Mary Magdalen, Taunton, etc.

SOUTH WALES AND THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

By J. W. WILLIS-BUND, M.A., LL.B., F.S.A.¹

Much has recently been said and written about the religious life of Wales, especially of South Wales, and it seems hardly possible to say anything on the subject that is not a twice-told tale. Yet there are some things connected with the history of the dealings between England and Wales in ecclesiastical matters deserving notice, which are usually either designedly or through ignorance wholly ignored. These matters are far removed from all present questions and disputes, and, none the less, for this reason possibly all the more, deserve the attention of students of history. Not the least interesting of these is the rise and progress of the religious orders in South Wales.

The monastic orders were introduced into that country, almost if not exclusively, by the Anglo-Norman conquerors. In all other parts of Europe such orders, on their first introduction into a locality, were a great success. In Wales for some years following their establishment they were a complete failure. Why was Wales an exception to the rest of Europe? In other places after a time the influence of the monastic orders declined. In Wales after a time some of the orders achieved success. What were the reasons for this failure, and for this success? They form a very interesting and instructive chapter in the history of Wales, not the least interesting being the probable reasons for success.

First as to the failure of the Latin religious orders in Wales on their introduction into the country. The chief cause was that while in other countries when the religious orders were introduced, they were a novelty, nothing like them having previously existed. Wales had possessed for some centuries her own monastic system, which the Anglo-Normans sought to supplant, or rather

¹ Read before the Institute on May 6th, 1908.

to root out as an unclean thing. Hence the introduction of the Latin religious orders was not here as elsewhere the introduction of a new system, but the supplanting an existing system which, with all its faults, was suited to the ideas, the manners, and the habits of the Welsh.

That the Norman Church should try to suppress the Welsh system was only to be expected. It rested on ideas quite irreconcilable with those of any religious order known to the Latin Church. The basis of the Welsh monastic system was the tribe. From very early times not merely the Welsh but all Celtic tribes consisted of two branches, the civil and the ecclesiastical, or, as they were called, "the tribe of the land" and the "tribe of the saint." Both were descended from a legendary ancestor, the original founder certainly of the lay and presumably of the saint's tribe. The great chief of his time, even if he had shown no signs of saintliness, became a saint in the Welsh sense of the word, that is, the most powerful magician connected with the tribe. For his alleged magical or miraculous powers he became venerated, and to win his favour and support, gifts both of lands and goods were made to him. If the expression may be used, the saint associated other persons with him in the gifts, they became joint grantees, and the gifts thus belonged not to any one person, but were the joint property of the druids or priests; these were regarded as having the sole charge and custody of the religious rites and ceremonies of the tribe, the guardians of its sacrifices, the custodians of its traditions. They dwelt apart, forming a separate community with their own property and possessions. If it is not an abuse of terms to say so, their village was their monastery, in which dwelt all those who belonged to the tribe of the saint—men, women and children. The tie, the only tie, that bound them together was descent real or artificial from the common ancestor, the mythical saint. Among the Latin religious orders such a state of things was unheard of, and unholy. They utterly ignored the tie of relationship, their communities were united by voluntary adhesion to certain definite rules framed for accomplishing a definite object. The tie in the Latin brotherhood was the common object to be achieved in the future, the tie

in the Welsh the common descent which sprang from the past.

One great point of interest as to the Welsh communities is the amount of paganism they retained, the little Christianity they absorbed into their heathendom on their conversion, while as to the Latin orders the interest is to see how much heathendom the Latin monks were willing to recognise among the Welsh who called themselves Christian.

The history of the religious orders in South Wales is, therefore, the account of how far the members of those orders were willing to go in the direction of compromise in a very distant part of the world to secure the triumph of Latin Christianity. To the credit of the first comers, the Benedictines, they were not disposed to make any departure from their rule. This was the great cause of their failure.

The eleventh century is the starting point. Before the Norman conquest of England it does not appear that any attempt had been made to break up the Welsh monastic system, or if any had been made its effects had been very slight. No outside religious orders had been introduced or attempted to be introduced. This work was left for the conqueror and his followers. The fact that the Normans came as conquerors, both of the national and of the religious life of Wales, was another cause of the failure of the monastic orders. The hatred with which the Welsh regarded any change the Normans introduced was not so much hatred of the change itself, but of the Norman who proposed it. Not the least unpopular of these was the change from the Welsh ideal of a monastery to monasteries of the order of St. Benedict, which the Normans were desirous of establishing as the religious order in Wales. The establishment of the Benedictine monks in England had been no easy task: the old Saxon system had died hard, witness Oswald's work at Worcester. The opposition there was as nothing to the resistance the Benedictines met with in setting up their order in South Wales.

Nor was this to be wondered at. Under whatever form or in whatever circumstances the rule of St. Benedict had been presented to the Welsh, its establishment

would have been bitterly opposed. The special way in which it was presented, a badge of the Norman conquest, made it doubly objectionable. The Welsh did not love the English, but they hated the Normans; the introduction of the rule of St. Benedict into South Wales by the Normans seemed to the Welsh to emphasize the fact that they and their country were now conquered.

There was another reason in which piety, pride, and possibly prudence had place. In the first half of the eleventh century the Norman barons became in Normandy lavish founders of monasteries, and continued this practice when they came over here. In Normandy most of the Conqueror's barons had a religious house either on their own land or on land under their protection. To such houses they gave lands and goods with no niggard hand. When they had obtained lands in England by the power of their swords, they either established cells to their own Norman monasteries on their English lands or else granted some of the lands as endowments to the Norman house, thus establishing in England settlements or cells of Norman religious houses. When the Normans obtained grants of land in Wales, they continued this practice to such an extent that by the end of the eleventh century all the regular monasteries that had been formed in Wales were cells of Norman houses either on the continent or in England. Six cells were founded in South Wales, all were Benedictine, no less than four were cells to monasteries on the continent. To such of us as are interested in the history of Wales this system had its advantages, for by it we are able to trace the situation and extent of the possessions of the different Norman conquerors of Wales. Each had his own special religious house which he or his family had founded, so the existence of a cell to that house in Wales is strong presumptive evidence of the fact that the land on which it stood was the property of the patron of the Norman house. Thus a cell to Cormeilles marks the property of William Fitz-Osborne. Cells of the abbey of Lyra show the lands of the Lacys: cells of the abbey of Bec those of the family of Chandos, while cells to the English abbeys of Gloucester or

Tewkesbury point to the presence of the Clares. Thus the fact of a religious house being a cell to a Norman or English abbey marks the locality of the possessions of the Norman who was the patron of that abbey.

The three important points for the invasion of South and Mid Wales were Hereford, Shrewsbury, and Worcester. Hereford commanded the valley of the Wye; Worcester the middle, and Shrewsbury the upper Severn. Worcester also formed the base for any attack on South or Mid Wales. These points the Conqueror desired to place in safe hands. To an ecclesiastic, the bishop of Worcester, he gave that city; to the joint marshals of England he gave the two striking points; to Roger of Montgomery, Shrewsbury; to William Fitz-Osborne, Hereford. Earl William tried to secure his position by lavish gifts of lands to Corneilles, the Norman house he had founded. To it he gave lands in Worcestershire, Herefordshire, and Gloucestershire, the boundaries of his gifts being marked by Tenbury on the east and Chepstow on the west. Earl William died in 1071. His son Roger who succeeded him was also a benefactor to Corneilles, but as he took part in the rising of 1074 his estates were forfeited. This made Montgomery sole marshal of England, so it became his duty to follow the king on any expedition to Wales. In 1093 he marched with Rufus across South Wales from Brecon to Cardigan, and was rewarded for his services by a grant of lands at Pembroke. On his lands at Seez in Normandy he had founded a Benedictine house. He now gave to that abbey part of the lands he had obtained, founded a religious house upon them, a cell to Seez, a house which developed into the priory of Monkton or Pembroke. The Clares became possessed of Glamorganshire, so at Cardiff there sprang up a cell to Tewkesbury.

Other instances might be given such as the conquest of Cardiganshire, the building of the castle of Cilgerran as the civil fort to garrison that district, the building of the priory of Cardigan, a cell to the abbey of Chertsey as the ecclesiastical fort. It is not necessary to pursue the subject, it will suffice to say that in the six modern counties that make up South Wales one result of the

Norman conquest, its outward and visible sign, was the establishment of fifteen Benedictine houses, all cells to abbeys either in England or on the continent, all founded as part of the system of setting up garrisons, all hated, if it were possible, more than even the castles and their garrisons. It is obvious that even if the Benedictines had been angels, the circumstances connected with their foundations had rendered them so distasteful to the Welsh that they never could have become popular or national. The very reasons for their existence prevented them making any concession to the conquered, and led to their remaining separate and apart.

Whatever may have been the virtues of the Benedictines in Wales, a belief sprung up on the continent that if the order was to maintain its standard of holiness some reforms in it were required. In their services, their devotions, their ritual, they still maintained the rule that had originally been laid down by their founder. A proposal that they should incorporate in their practice any of the ideas or ritual of the Welsh would have been indignantly rejected. They would rather have renounced the Welsh and all their works. To the idea of meeting them in religious matters they would have returned a rigid *non possumus*. The result was that they made no progress in Wales; they began as strangers, they remained strangers "in race, in language, and in religion." In consequence of this attitude the numerous attempts to reform the Benedictine order, to bring it up to a higher level of holiness, had no effect in Wales. Considerable success attended those reforms both on the continent and in England, but not in Wales: there the reformed or unreformed Benedictines were treated alike as aliens and enemies.

The first reformed order of Benedictine, that of Odo of Cluny, the Cluniacs, met with no success. Three houses of the order were founded in South Wales, none of them prospered; as to one of the three, St. Clears in Carmarthenshire, a cell to the great house of St. Martin des Champs in Paris, the visitors report that the result of their visitation was to find "that divine service had utterly ceased and the greater part of the property of the house alienated."

The reforms Stephen d'Auvergne introduced into the Benedictines and his order who adopted them, the Grandmontines, only reached the Welsh border and never actually entered Wales. Another reformed order of Benedictines called, from Tiron in the diocese of Chartres, Tironian Benedictines, who carried out the reforms of Bernard d'Abbeville, had a cell at St. Dogmaels near Cardigan, founded by a Norman, Robert FitzMartin. For some reason they appear to have been for a time the most prosperous of the Benedictine houses in Wales, for they founded two cells, one on Caldey Island and one at Pill. This last however soon found the reforms too much for them, and relapsed into the unreformed rule of St. Benedict.

Three-quarters of a century had now elapsed since the Normans had begun setting up Benedictine houses in South Wales, and the result had been a failure. The strict orthodoxy of the Benedictines had not assimilated Welsh ideas. No real progress had been made. The religious house might flourish on the territory of its founder, but once outside that territory, among the people of the district it counted as nothing. If the "Monks of the West" were to make any real progress in Wales a system with a lower standard of orthodoxy, a greater power of assimilating native and local ideas was required. Another religious order learnt this lesson and practised it.

In 1061 pope Alexander II. constituted an order of regular canons under the rule of St. Augustine. They came to England about 1075 and settled at Canterbury. Hugh de Lacey, who had found that the Benedictine houses in Wales were not as successful as he had hoped, determined to try if this order would do better, and so founded in 1108 a house at Llanthony close to the Breconshire border. It failed more utterly than the Benedictine: they at least had among their virtues, courage, and, when once established, "held the fort"; the canons did not possess even this virtue, but abandoned Llanthony and retired first to Hereford, then to Gloucester. Whether it was that the canons learnt wisdom by experience, or what was the reason for their action, is not clear, but on their reintroduction into Wales they acted

** It is interesting to note that the order of St. Augustine was the only one which was not introduced into Wales.*

differently. A new house of this order was founded at Carmarthen about 1140, and they at once relaxed the rule of no intercourse with the Welsh. In some way either by missionary work round Carmarthen, or by receiving Welshmen into their house, they so far gained the confidence of the Welsh that they were able to collect and write down the legends and folk lore then current in the district. This is shown by the fact that in this house of the Black Canons of Carmarthen about the middle of the twelfth century a manuscript was compiled, fragments of which have come down to us and are known by the name of the "Black Book of Carmarthen."¹

This most important manuscript marks the new departure in the relation between the Latin monks and the Welsh. It shows that the Canons were willing to regard the local legends and beliefs as worthy of consideration, to treat the Welsh theology as something not wholly heretical, to consider Welsh history as matter at least worth recording. This manuscript is the earliest coming from a Latin house which records Welsh ideas. It is therefore deserving of most careful study, and not the least interesting point in connection with it is that it was written by monks who, on their first introduction into Wales, had tried the old rule of isolation and failed miserably, but who on their second introduction tried the policy of assimilation with success. This gives the key to the method that was afterwards followed with such perseverance as practically to transform a Latin monastic order into what became in effect the national order of Wales. The manuscript proves that there must have been considerable intercourse between the religious house and the people of the district, that in all probability it was written if not composed by a Welsh monk who was a Carmarthenshire man. This Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans, in his edition of this book, shows from internal evidence to be the case. The monkish writer was not acquainted with Welsh places outside the district round Carmarthen. He was quite ignorant of North Wales. There is a place there called, *Caer Seon*: the writer, never having

¹ For text, see Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales* for a translation of the *Black Book of Carmarthen* reproduced

and edited by Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans, 1906.

heard of it but being well up in his scripture, wrote it "Caer Zion." The name occurs in a passage in which a horseman is recounting who he was, and where he was coming from, he says that he is returning from a bardic contest at Caer Seon¹; by misreading the word "Seon" he wrote "Zion," the scribe's idea being centred on Palestine, a modern commentator makes out from this slip that the horseman was returning from Zion from fighting the Jews!

The Black Book of Carmarthen marks an epoch in the history of Wales, it shows when the wall of partition between the monk and the Welsh was broken down, that it took about a century for the Norman monks to become really acclimatized in Wales. Important as this fact is, another fact is still more so, the nature of the contents of the Black Book. So far as Wales is concerned it is the first example of any Welsh theology emerging from a Latin monastery. From any orthodox point of view much of this theology is heresy, to use Dr. Evans words,² "the theology is not infrequently merged in the older mythology." The important point is therefore to see what parts of the old local mythology the Black Canons of the twelfth century were willing to admit into a theological treatise composed in their house. Time had brought about the exact converse of the old state of things in Wales. In the early Celtic Church the point was how little Christianity was necessary for the converts to add to their pagan beliefs to become Christian. Now it was, how much paganism could the canons admit into their book and yet still call it Christian. The compromise between the Celtic and the Latin churches which the Black Book proves to have been arrived at in the middle of the twelfth century is of considerable importance. It shows the time, the place, and the means, by which all early Welsh history has been preserved, and which but for some such compromise would have been lost. The strict orthodoxy of the Benedictines had failed to secure the sympathy of the people, with the necessary consequence that the Benedictines could never learn their legends and beliefs. If Wales had

¹ xvii, *op. cit.*

² viii, *op. cit.*

been left to the Benedictines much if not all of the old legends and mythology would have perished. Possibly by accident the Austin Canons found a way to win the national sympathy, with the result that they were told the national legends which they fortunately had the good sense to commit to writing. The Austin Canons therefore furnish the link between the Benedictines and the next order of monks.

little to write

A few years before the foundation of the Carmarthen house of Black Canons a new reformed order of Benedictines made their appearance in Wales, whatever else may be said of them, their reforms were thorough and radical to the extent that, practically, they were a new monastic order, the Cistercians. They came to Wales in 1130, and settled at Neath. In most cases their founders were Anglo-Norman, but in two cases, Strata-Florida and Abbey Cwmhir, the founders were probably Welsh. The question who had founded their houses was not one that greatly affected the Cistercians. Their great object was success, not merely in spiritual but also in carnal things, and they were early professors of the doctrine that the end justified the means. The Cistercians saw that the Benedictine policy was a failure, that success could only be achieved by something quite different. There is no evidence that they were aware of the action of the Carmarthen house but they adopted a similar policy, they played to the people, and they had their reward. Various considerations may have led the Cistercians to this policy. The Anglo-Normans had ceased to be as generous to the Welsh cells as they had once been. They considered they had done their share and were disinclined to do more. The Welsh chiefs were more promising subjects: they had so far done little or nothing in the way of endowing religious houses, if properly approached they might be induced to do much. This was the Cistercians' opportunity. The experiment of a national policy for Wales which might be made into a successful line for a religious house to follow also occurred to the Cistercians, and the order adopted the idea. Several reasons possibly led them to do this. First the rivalry between the Benedictines and Cistercians: the two orders hated each other with a holy hatred, and

the Cistercians would not be slow to perceive the advantage of having the Welsh on their side in any contest that might spring up. Secondly, the Welsh chiefs might also be useful from another point of view: the Cistercians were the great sheep farmers of the day, it was from the Welsh more than the Normans that the monks received great advantages both as to sheep, sheep-pasturage, and wool.

It might also be that the Welsh would meet the Cistercian half way, as they would be glad in their contest with the Anglo-Norman monks to have on their side men who were ready and willing to fight and could turn their foes' weapons against the common adversary. The Cistercians possessed another important advantage: they and their houses were exempt from all episcopal visitation and authority, and so could defy the Anglo-Norman bishops who then held the Welsh sees, and whom the Welsh so bitterly hated. Protected by the Cistercians, a Welsh chief could resist and resist successfully the authority and power of a Norman prelate. These and other reasons combined to secure for the Cistercian different treatment than that accorded to other religious orders. The Cistercians were not slow to avail themselves of their advantages, and to conciliate the Welsh. What possibly appealed most strongly to the latter was the Cistercian assumption of superior holiness, which in Welsh eyes meant superior power. The Cistercian told all other religious orders to stand back on the ground that his was the holiest of any. At all times in Celtic history the assumption of superior power has had a great effect on the Celtic mind. It was the assumption by Patrick that he possessed mightier power than the combined force of the druids that gave him his victory at Tara; it was the assumption by David that he could work miracles at Llanddewibrefi that is said to have won over the synod to his views. So now the assumption by the Cistercians that they possessed greater holiness than the Benedictines, that is greater power, led the Welsh to follow them, as they would, in an earlier age, have followed the most powerful magician or miracle worker. The Cistercian told the Benedictine to stand back and give place, the

Welsh believed in the Cistercian claim and accepted him at his own value.

There were probably other considerations, but those already-mentioned will account for the rapid popularity which the Cistercian order acquired in Wales. As the only order of regulars that found favour in Welsh eyes they soon became their adopted order. Within a century of the introduction of the Cistercians into Wales one of their houses, Strata Florida, became the burial place of the Welsh chieftains, the *campo santo* of South Wales, the place where her National Council met. When the last native Prince of Wales was killed at Cilmeri it was a Cistercian monk who bent over him to receive his confession, it was to a Cistercian house that his body was borne. This ascendancy once obtained, the Cistercian never lost. In the final revolt of Owen Glendower it was the Cistercian abbey of Strata Florida that Henry IV. garrisoned to keep down the nationalism of Wales. It was to the same Cistercian house that his son sent a garrison when he was on the point of setting out on his French expedition. The Cistercians received into their houses Welshmen as monks who, when educated, acted as scribes, with the result that in the scriptorium of the various houses of this order the bulk of the manuscripts were written that have preserved to us the history of Wales. The manuscripts that the Cistercians prepared give us not merely the history, but practically all we know of early Welsh mythology, theology, folklore, and genealogy. Whatever we may think of the action of the Cistercians we are under an enormous debt to them, for without them the materials we have for early Welsh history would, even if existent, be very much less than they are.

The Cistercians carried out the policy of the Black Canons and went beyond it. The manuscripts which Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans has catalogued for the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts enable an opinion to be expressed on their contents. Roughly they consist first of the earlier texts, that is thirteenth century manuscripts, and secondly of the transcripts of those early texts in whole or part. The first class may be sub-divided into five headings: theology, history, law, poetry, heraldry

and genealogy, and in this class come eight manuscripts which represent the early texts. These are :—

1. The Black Book of Carmarthen, twelfth century.¹
2. The Book of Taliessin, thirteenth century.²
3. The White Book of Roderick (part in thirteenth century).³
4. Peniarth Fragments of the Mabinogion, thirteenth century.⁴
5. Geoffrey of Monmouth, Peniarth MSS. thirteenth century.⁵
6. Lord's Prayer and Creed, thirteenth century.⁶
7. Life of Griffith ap Kynan, thirteenth century.⁷
8. Brut y Brenhenoedd, fourteenth century.⁸

Of these eight the first and most important is the product of the Black Canons, but most of the rest are believed to come from Cistercian houses. If this is so, it goes a long way to prove the statement already made that it is to the Cistercians we owe the materials for Welsh history.

The manuscripts themselves are of interest as showing how the method of the canons respecting Welsh legends grew and increased. If the "White Book of Roderick" is taken as an instance, a manuscript which Dr. Evans calls "one of the most important and valuable in the Welsh language,"⁹ it will be seen how the system of the Canons lent itself to expansion.

The White Book is a composition of several periods, part belongs to the thirteenth century, part to the fourteenth. It begins with what may be called the Welsh part, the Mabinogion, a collection of Welsh legendary stories. These are instances of the current legends the monks took down and preserved. No one could call them Christian legends, although they were doubtless the popular and national legends of a so-called Christian people. The fact that they could have been collected and transcribed in a monastic house, shows conclusively that the monks of the house must have been on the best terms with the Welsh. It is not

¹ Peniarth, I, 297.

² *Ibid.* II, 200.

³ *Ibid.* IV and V, 305.

⁴ *Ibid.* VI, 316.

⁵ *Ibid.* XLII, 377.

⁶ Peniarth, XVI, 337.

⁷ *Ibid.* XVII, 339.

⁸ *Ibid.* XVIII, 341.

⁹ Hist. MSS. Comm. Report on MSS. in Welsh language Pt. II, 305.

an uninteresting fact, that the earliest part of the manuscript is the mythological, which shows how soon the Cistercians were able to collect and transcribe the local history. The next part is the theological. It consists of the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus, the story of the Crucifixion, a translation from the vulgate of chapter xxvi, 2, to chapter xxviii, 7, of St. Matthew's gospel into Welsh, Helena's finding the cross, the histories of Pilate and Judas Iscariot, the fifteen signs of the day of judgment, the prophecy of Sybil the Wise, the gospel of the pseudo Mathew, the Creed, the lives of St. Catharine, St. Margaret, and St. Mary of Egypt, the trial of our Lord before Pilate, an account of Nathan's mission to Rome to give the story of the Crucifixion. The creed of St. Athanasius translated into Welsh for Eva the daughter of Meredith, the first verses of the gospel of St. John, and the purgatory of Patrick. Then comes a third part, partly historical, partly mythological, an account of Charlemagne's expedition to Spain, the French version of the romance of Otinel in Welsh, the adventure with Hu Gadarn, the romance of Bown of Hampton.

From this summary of the contents it will be seen that first there are the local, the Welsh legends, then scripture and legend mixed, stories which had been obviously imported into Wales, probably by the monks, and then a collection of legends, partly Welsh and partly eastern, which have a strong appearance of monkish editing. It is not at all easy to say what was the object of the compilation of the book, whether it was merely a common place book, or whether it was a book for reading at meals. But whatever its object, it has a very special interest as showing how the method of the Austin Canons was developed by the Cistercians. The Austin Canons had confined themselves to local legends, the Cistercians added eastern legends, or rather legends that were popular in the Latin Church, and also legends that had a continental colour. The whole forms a *mélange* that probably furnishes a key to the source from which some of the incidents, added by Latin writers, to the lives of the Welsh Saints were drawn. Another point should be noticed as it has a slight bearing on a very old

controversy. All the quotations from the Bible in these legends are translations from the vulgate; this is what would be expected in a manuscript coming from a house which would use the vulgate, but it also points to this, that the vulgate was the version of the Bible in use in Wales, and any scripture in Welsh is merely a translation from it. The opinion so long and so strenuously urged by some writers, that there was a version of the Bible in Welsh preceding the vulgate, gains no support from these legends and quotations. It is not very likely that the scribe would take the trouble to edit the legends and extracts, and if he found the latter taken from an old Welsh version, substitute that of St. Jerome.

The White Book of Roderick is also of interest as it shows the high-water mark of this kind of literature, and gives the amount of legend and scripture that the Cistercians were prepared to sanction to gain the affections of the Welsh. This may have been due to two causes, (1) that they had established their position and did not find it necessary to make further deviations from orthodoxy, or (2) because another body had arisen who were preaching against the religious orders and their teaching, alleging they had degenerated from "the faith once delivered to the saints."

It is very difficult to offer any opinion except in the most tentative way, as there are so many manuscripts which are copies made at various times, often at long intervals, the contents of which are very mixed, but it seems that after the thirteenth century there is a dividing line. There are manuscripts with Welsh legends and scripture, usually copies of earlier manuscripts, there are manuscripts with eastern legends and scripture, but the combination of Welsh legends, scripture, and eastern legends, if it does not cease with the "White Book of Roderick," only occurs in copies of older manuscripts, not in original manuscripts. After the thirteenth century new manuscripts with new legends are of very rare occurrence. From this it may be argued that as the Latin Church became stronger she threw off the local legends, they being no longer of use to her, and of doubtful theological value. At all events about the early part of the fourteenth century an attempt was made to set

up a very dogmatic form of teaching Latin theology by a translation into Welsh of a catechism in the form of question and answer, between a scholar and his master on various of the more disputed points of mediaeval theology. One of the manuscripts has an English version which begins—

“Myn owne dere maister in wey of informaeyon y beseche you that ye well awnswere to me all suche questions as y shall aske you in whiche questions y am yet fer from the very trew way of understanding, and my furst question shall be this. Hit is said no man can tell what is God.”¹

This catechism is the well-known *Elucidarium*, or to give it its full title, “*Elucidarium sive dialogus de summa totius christianae theologiae*.” There has been considerable discussion as to who was its author. For a long time it was ascribed to Lanfranc, and it is still printed in many collections of his works. In the Benedictine history of French Literature² it is said to be his on the strength of a French manuscript, in the Oxford edition by Giles in 1844 it is included among Lanfranc’s works. If this is the case it gives a clue as to how this book might have come to South Wales. Lanfranc was Abbot of the great Norman Abbey of Bec, and Robert de Chandos had founded a cell to Bec at Goldcliff in Monmouthshire. Modern writers however doubt the authorship of Lanfranc, and another way in which it may have come to South Wales can be suggested. In the library of Jesus College, Oxford, is a volume of eastern legends in Welsh with the *Elucidarium*.³ It is dated 1346 and is most probably not a translation from the Latin but a copy from some other existing Welsh text, an earlier translation. It has a peculiar interest from its scribe. It is stated on the manuscript that

Gryffudd ap Llywelyn ap Phylip ap Trahaearn of Cantref Mawr caused this book to be written by the hand of a friend of his, that is the man who was the hermit at this time at Llanddewibrefi.

At this time there was at Llanddewibrefi a college for priests founded in 1287 by the then bishop of St. David’s, Thomas Bec; who the hermit was, there is nothing to show, but the words “*amser hunu*,” “at that time,” may be read as meaning that there was always a hermit there,

¹ Hengwrt, XII, 323.

² *Ibid.*, XII, 168.

³ Hist. MSS. Comm. Report on Welsh MSS. Vol. II, 30 MS. 2.

that the position was in the nature of an office or recognised officer, and the translator held the office in 1346. It is quite possible he was a chantry priest and filled up his leisure time by acting as scribe to the college, and that the treatise was written for teaching the priests of Llanddewibrefi the right views on questions of scholastic theology. Yet another view may be put forward that the *Elucidarium* represented the views which the friars' preachers circulated as orthodox. An Irish friar, Geoffry of Waterford, is said to have been the author. The manuscript of the Llanddewibrefi Hermit contains besides the *Elucidarium* various other legends and pieces, some sixteen in number, all of the eastern class, and possibly such as the Dominicans considered harmless or possibly profitable. From its contents the *Elucidarium* may be taken as a denunciation of the monks by the friars. For instance this passage as to the future state has a strong ring of the friars' preachers. The scholar is asking the teacher on the prospects of the different classes of person at the day of judgment.

What, he says, will be the fate of priests ?

If, it is answered, they have lived a good life and used orthodox teaching they will be as the salt of the world.

What will be the fate of the monks and others wearing the religious habit ?

If they have lived according to their rule they will be judges with the Lord, if not they will go down quick into the pit.

What as to soldiers ?

There are few good men, they live by plunder and clothe themselves by robbery.

What hope is there for merchants ?

Very little, they acquire their wealth by fraud and perjury.

What about workmen ?

Nearly all will perish as they practise fraud.

Have the poets any hope ?

None whatever, they are Ministers of Satan.¹

One can almost hear an eloquent Dominican turning these replies into a burning discourse, denouncing the sins, the follies, and the wickedness of the fourteenth century, and especially the sins of those monks who relaxed their orthodoxy to win over the Welsh.

There is in addition evidence that the Dominicans did

¹ *Book of the Hermit of Llanddewibrefi*, Jones and Rhys, Oxford, 1894, 89 and 202.

use in their manuals some of the eastern legends and some of the legends which appear in the Book of the hermit of Llanddewibrefi. In the Shrewsbury school library¹ there is a manuscript which contains a number of these legends and also the "little office of the Virgin," there is a similar MS. at Peniarth² which has the same office with legends, and one in the Free Library, Cardiff.³ As the Shrewsbury is the most perfect Welsh office of the fourteenth century extant, it is, of itself, of considerable interest. On obtaining a copy I hoped it would turn out to be the use, the peculiar use, of some Welsh diocese: I could make nothing of it, so I asked for the help of Mr. Dewick, and he tells me that it is the Dominican form of the office translated into Welsh. At matins, the greater part of both are the same, the only difference being in the invitatory and the lessons which in the Shrewsbury manuscript are taken from the Advent office of the Roman use. For the other hours the resemblance is still closer. All the psalms are the same except at vespers when the Dominicans have an additional psalm, the 127th, "*Nisi Dominus Aedificat*"; the anthems, hymns, and little chapters, are all identical.

The Shrewsbury manuscript is in the dialect of South Wales, the Peniarth in that of North Wales, a proof of the care the Dominicans took in fitting out their men for the work in hand.

This Shrewsbury manuscript brings out that the Dominicans while they did not despise the use of legends only used the legends of the Latin Church and did not employ the local stories. It is only an inference from finding no local legends in the Book of the Hermit except those of the Latin Church, that that book as well as the Shrewsbury manuscript represent the Dominican teaching, and shows an attempt to bring back the Welsh to the standard of orthodoxy. At any rate it seems to point to a reaction against the length to which the Cistercians had gone in local legend.

The points that I have ventured to put forward and which seem to me to be of considerable interest and importance are these,

¹ MS. III, 48.

² Hengwrt No. 344.

³ MS. XXIII, Hist. MSS. Comm. Welsh MSS. II, 333.

1. That the attempt of the Norman Conqueror to set up Benedictine houses in South Wales was a failure.
2. That the Black Canons by admitting Welsh monks and recording Welsh legends took the first steps towards success.
3. That the Cistercians by carrying out this policy made themselves the national order of Wales.
4. That after the policy reached a certain point a reaction set in, the local legends were neglected, and the legends of the Latin church encouraged.
5. That this reaction was probably due to the preaching of the Dominicans.

It is quite true that the evidence put forward in support of these views is very fragmentary and requires a good deal of supplementing. This can only be done by careful study of the manuscripts and by a knowledge far greater than I can pretend to possess of mediaeval Welsh history and of mediaeval Welsh. If, however, I have not proved my case I have kept to the promise I made at the beginning of this paper, not to intrude upon current questions or present politics, and to abstain from repeating a twice-told tale.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

June 3rd, 1908.

Sir Henry H. Howorth, *President*, in the Chair.

Mr. Herbert Jones, F.S.A., on behalf of Dr. Munro, M.A., LL.D., read a paper on "The Transition between the Palaeolithic and Neolithic Civilizations of Europe." The paper is printed in the *Journal* at page 205.

The President, Sir Edward Brabrook and Mr. R. Garraway Rice took part in the discussion, and a vote of thanks was accorded the author and the reader of the paper.

On the motion of Sir Edward Brabrook, seconded by Mr. Herbert Jones, it was resolved that the members of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland desire to place on record their sense of the great loss they, and the science of archaeology, have sustained by the death of Sir John Evans, M.A., K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., D.Sc., F.R.S., F.S.A., M.R.I.A., Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, etc. He had been a member of this Institute for forty-seven years, and had laboured with great learning and infinite skill in the prosecution of those researches into the arts and monuments of the early and middle ages which the Institute is formed to promote. To him more than to any other man is due the encouragement in this country of the study of prehistoric archaeology, upon which his works are the chief authorities, and there is no branch of historic archaeology which he has left untouched and unadorned.

This meeting desires that a copy of its resolution may be transmitted to Lady Evans, in testimony of the sympathy of the members with her in her irreparable loss.

July 1st, 1908.

Sir Henry H. Howorth, *President*, in the Chair.

Mr. Thomas Ashby, M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A., read a paper upon "Some Drawings with Views of Rome in the time of Gregory XIII., in the possession of C. W. Dyson Perrins, Esq." The paper is printed in the *Journal* at page 245.

A discussion followed, after which a vote of thanks was accorded the author of the paper.

ANNUAL MEETING AT DURHAM.

JULY 21ST TO JULY 28TH, 1908.

President of the Meeting. The Right Hon. LORD BARNARD, D.L., D.C.L.

Vice-Presidents of the Meeting. Sir E. W. Brabrook, C.B., V.P.S.A.; The Rev. Henry Gee, D.D., F.S.A., Master of University College; The Rev. William Greenwell, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.; The Rev. J. T. Fowler, D.C.L., F.S.A.

Secretary for the Meeting. W. H. Knowles, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.

PROCEEDINGS.

July 21st.—Inaugural meeting at the Town Hall. Reception by the Mayor of Durham. President's Address. Durham Cathedral, Church, described by Mr. Bilson. The Buildings of the Benedictine Monastery, described by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope. Evening Meeting: The Rev. Dr. Gee, on "Some Points in connection with the History of Durham Castle."

July 22nd.—Raby Castle. Reception by Lord Barnard, who described the building. Staindrop Church, described by the Rev. J. F. Hodgson. Darlington Church, described by the Rev. J. F. Hodgson. Evening Meeting: Canon Greenwell on "Weapons and Implements of the Bronze Age," illustrated with many specimens.

July 23rd.—Escombe Church, described by Mr. C. R. Peers. Auckland St. Andrew's Church, described by the Rev. J. F. Hodgson. Brancepeth Church, described by the Rev. Dr. Fowler. Evening Meeting: Mr. Bilson on "Durham and the Evolution of Gothic Architecture," illustrated by lantern slides.

July 24th.—Monkwearmouth Church, described by Mr. C. R. Peers. Hylton Castle, described by Mr. Hope. Durham Castle, described by Mr. Hodges. In the Cathedral Library, Canon Greenwell gave an address on Saxon Crosses, etc. Evening Meeting: Mr. K. C. Bayley on "Some Early Points in connection with the History of the City of Durham."

July 25th.—Gainford Church, described by Mr. Peers. Gainford Hall and Wyliffe Church, described by Mr. Peers. Eggleston Abbey described by Mr. Hope, and Barnard Castle, described by Mr. Hope.

July 27th.—Pittington Church, described by Mr. Hodges. Lumley Castle, described by Mr. Hope. Chester-le-Street Church, described by Mr. C. C. Hodges. Finchale Priory, described by Mr. Hope. Annual Business Meeting.

July 28th.—Easby. Premonstratensian Abbey of St. Agatha, described by Mr. Hope. Richmond Castle, described by Mr. Hope; the parish church, described by Mr. Peers; the site of the Grey Friars Monastery, described by Mr. Peers. Evening meeting: the plate belonging to the Corporation, University and Freemen of Durham, was shown at the Castle, and was described by Mr. Hope.

July 29th.—Extra day. Hexham Abbey, described by Canon Savage, and by Mr. Hodges. Aydon Castle, described by Mr. W. H. Knowles. Corstopitum, described by Mr. R. H. Foster and Mr. Cheesman.

Tuesday, July 21st.

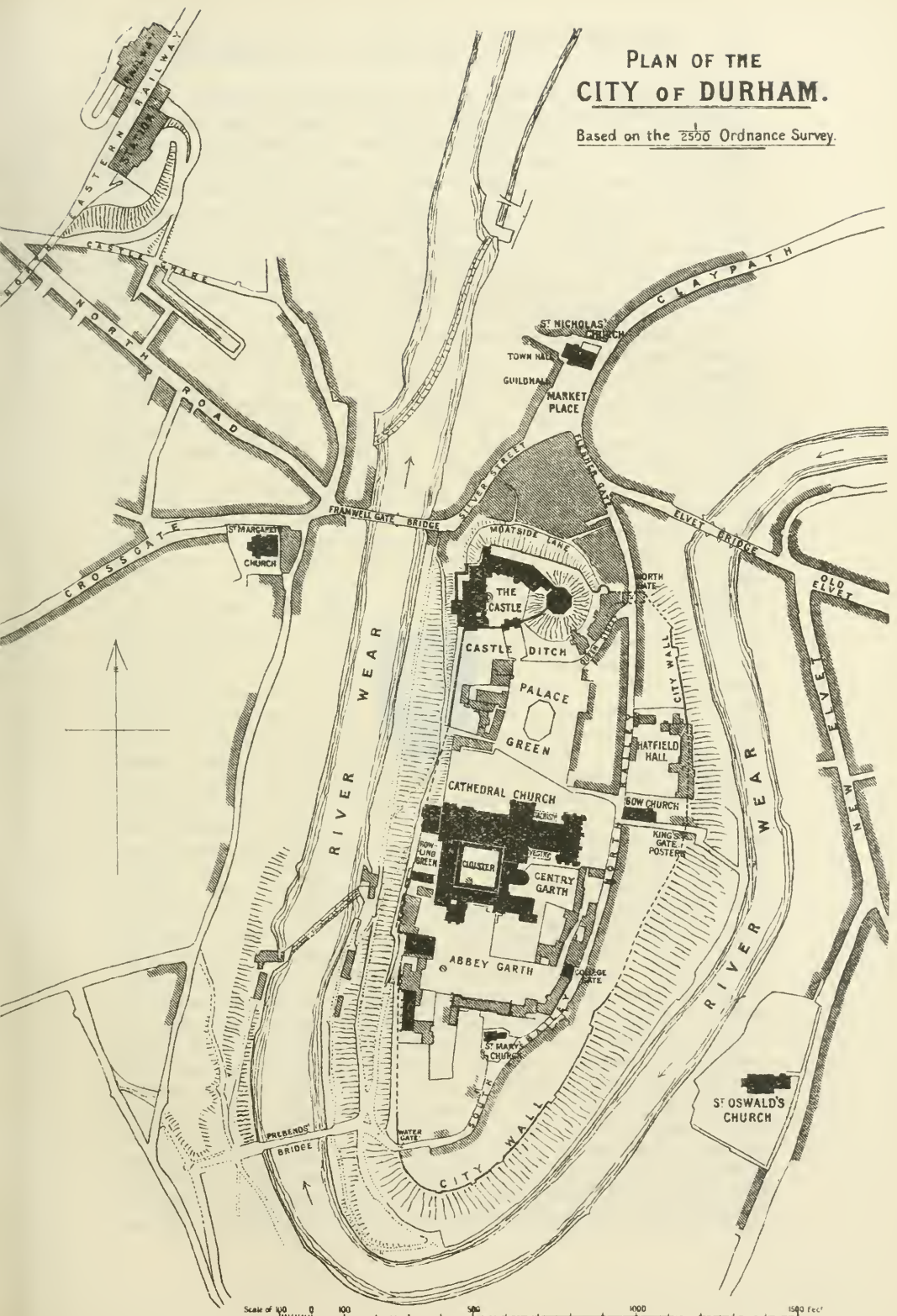
After an interval of forty-three years the Institute again held its annual meeting at Durham. The difficulty of obtaining in that city sufficient lodging accommodation for the large numbers now yearly attending the meetings has been met on this occasion through the kindness of the University authorities, who were good enough to house many members in the Castle and at Bishop Hatfield's Hall.

The meeting opened on Tuesday, July 21st, in the Town Hall, where the Mayor of Durham, Alderman Brownlee, formally welcomed the Institute to Durham. He stated that it was upwards of forty years since the city was honoured by a visit from the Institute. On that occasion they were received by the Duke of Cleveland, the noble ancestor of the president of that year's meeting, and he graphically described the various attractions of the place. In the unavoidable absence of Lord Barnard through indisposition, the President of the Institute, Sir Henry Howorth, acknowledged, on behalf of the meeting, the hospitable and graceful words spoken by the Mayor, and assured him that the Institute had not visited in his time a place having as many attractions as that splendid city of Durham. It reminded him of the former capital of the Christian kings of Spain in their long fight against the Moors, the city of Toledo. The next thing he had to do was to tell them the real reason why they had come there. They came with the expectation that they might have as their president the man whom they looked upon as the doyen of English archaeologists, whose distinction had been won in every field of archaeology: he was a great master in the prehistoric field: he was equally a master amongst charters, the most trying of all fields archaeological: he had written admirably about the history of his county: he was a good fisherman, and a good fellow; but he had pleaded that, in view of his great age, he did not feel equal to the fatigue of the Presidential chair. It was equally a grief to them that, in the absence of Canon Greenwell, Lord Barnard, who had kindly undertaken to preside, was unfortunately unwell. He had the advantage of owning two of the most magnificent and lordly castles in the country, Raby, in that county, and Shrewsbury, the great frontier castle in Shropshire. He was also the owner of Uriconum, that wonderful Roman site which was awaiting the spade, and he had told him he was very anxious that it should be excavated scientifically under his own patronage. He only heard that morning that Lord Barnard could not be there, and he had to say a few words to them about that part of England in the presence of those who knew it far better than he did.

One of the first things that struck anyone who went over the history of the county of Durham was not only the fine things it contained, but that there were so many things it did not contain. It was most remarkable that, planted as it was between the very rich prehistoric district of Yorkshire and the similar district of Northumberland, the

PLAN OF THE CITY OF DURHAM.

Based on the $\frac{1}{2500}$ Ordnance Survey.



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county of Durham should have so few relics of the stone and bronze ages. Remains of pagan Anglo-Saxon times were also peculiarly scarce in Durham, and only one Anglo-Saxon cemetery of the pagan time had ever been found in the county. Passing on to Christian Anglo-Saxon times a curious feature of that county was the settlements of monks and hermits which it contained. This could hardly have been the case unless the district at the time had been very thinly populated, nor could the Northumbrian kings have made over the whole region between Tyne and Tees as the special patrimony of St. Cuthbert, cutting their realm in two, but for the same reason. It was these monks and hermits, most of them Kelts, who, at their romantic home at Lindisfarne, made Northumbria at this time an offshoot of Ireland, then in the plenitude of its artistic and literary pre-eminence. From the ranks of these secluded monks sprang such famous fathers of early English culture and Christianity as Benedict Biscop, St. Cuthbert, St. Chad and the Venerable Bede. The Danes ruthlessly swept it all away, and presently the life had to start again at the spot where the peripatetic relics of St. Cuthbert found a resting place, first at Chester-le-Street and then at Durham itself. At Durham they would have an admirable guide to the cathedral and its architectural puzzles in Canon Greenwell, whose handbook is a masterpiece, and in the skilled archaeological instinct of Mr. Bilson, who on this ground would not mind being treated as a pupil of "our Canon." No problem invites more analysis than the puzzle of how this gigantic building could have been put together so quickly if the problem is to be explained in the received fashion, for we must never forget not only that Durham was a poor county, but that north-east England had been terribly ravaged by the Conqueror just before the main part of the cathedral is supposed to have been built. The town was the child of the cathedral, and together they formed a powerful frontier fortress against the Scots. The bishops, who had the real duty of guarding this part of England against invasion, became great feudal lords with exceptional jurisdiction answering to those possessed by the earls of Lancaster and of Chester, who were also planted on dangerous frontiers, and the great families in the county were their feudatories and tenants. Among these none assuredly were more famous, nor deserved to be so, than the northern branch of the Nevilles, the owners of Raby and Brancepeth, and, perhaps the most signal feat in our long wars with the Scots was the famous victory of Neville's Cross. If David had won that battle the whole course of our history would have been changed. Let it not be forgotten that one of the great changes in our domestic architecture in the fourteenth century, namely, the embattling of country houses, was largely due to the panic caused by this invasion of the Scots. When these rough times had passed away the bishops of Durham retained their great incomes and proud and pompous surroundings together with their palatine courts. They included some famous names, among which we must remember those of John Cosin, a great builder, whose hand is specially visible in the stately episcopal castle of Auckland, of Butler, the author of the *Analogy*, of Lightfoot and of Westcott. The speaker referred in conclusion to their old and distinguished friends, who were not able to be present, being prevented by ill-health or the burdens of

age, notably Judge Baylis and Mr. Fox, and he extended a warm welcome on behalf of the Institute to the distinguished French antiquary, M. Pontalis, who was attending the meeting.

Through the kindness of the City Guilds, a fine series of punch-bowls, tankards, and drinking-cups, and other articles of silver plate were displayed in the hall.

A move was next made to the cathedral church, where Mr. John Bilson described the earlier architectural history of the building with special reference to its plan and setting-out, and the early dates of its vaulting (see plan). The following is the substance of Mr. Bilson's remarks. What is known from documentary sources of the history of the building is derived chiefly from Symeon, whose history ends in 1096, and from his continuator, who finishes in 1144. The material passages may be summarized thus. Bishop William of Saint Calais took down, in 1902, the "white church" of Aldhun, and in the following year began to build a nobler and larger church. The foundation stones were laid on August 11th, 1093. There is no record of the progress of the work when William died in 1096, but it is noted that the bishop had undertaken the erection of the church, while the monks went on with the monastic buildings, and that, when the bishop's death put an end to this agreement, the monks devoted themselves to the works of the church. When Ralph Flambard became bishop in 1099, the works had advanced as far as the nave, which, of course, does not imply that all the eastern parts were then finished. In 1104 the body of St. Cuthbert was translated to the shrine at the east end, which clearly marks the completion of the choir. Flambard proceeded with the work "*modo intentius, modo remissius*." When Flambard died in 1128, he had carried up the nave as far as the vault ("*usque testudinem*"). In the interval between Flambard's death and the accession of bishop Geoffrey Rufus in 1133, the monks finished the nave ("*navis . . . peracta est*"). Such is the evidence of the contemporary historians. It remains to fill in the rest of the story from the structure itself. To begin with the plan. The longitudinal and transverse axes are perfectly true and square, without any of those "refinements" which it has been left for modern writers to discover. The plan of the eastern termination shows three parallel apses, a great apse to the choir, and smaller apses at the ends of the aisles, finished square externally. The beginning of this plan, so far as the Norman school is concerned, is to be found in the abbey church of Bernay, founded in the first quarter of the eleventh century. It was the original plan of Jumièges, begun in 1040, and probably that of Saint-Etienne, Caen, and it still survives at Montivilliers, Cérisy-la-Forêt, Lessay, Saint-Georges-de-Boscherville, and Saint-Gabriel. In England it was probably followed at Lanfranc's Canterbury, at Lincoln, and at Ely, and it is known to have been the plan of St. Albans, Peterborough, and Selby. All the examples in Normandy have choirs of two bays in length, except Montivilliers, which has three bays. At St. Albans, Durham, and Peterborough the choir is expanded to four bays in length. Durham has eastern aisles to each arm of the transept, instead of apsidal chapels, and three towers, a lantern tower over the crossing, and two towers at the west end. In addition to the four bays of the choir, there was an oblong bay in front of the apse, and it

is to be noted that the centre-to-centre width of the choir, repeated eastward of the four choir bays, gives the springing line of the apse. The bay design of the choir is obviously inspired from the nave of Jumièges, which was finished in 1067, and the proportions of height are much more like those of Jumièges than of Saint-Étienne, Caen, and Winchester, where the arcade and triforium stages are much more nearly equal in height. The alternate system of piers, for which a Lombard origin is usually claimed, certainly receives its logical expression in the single quadripartite vault over the double bay of the Lombard churches, which, so far as is known, is not the case in any existing Norman church of early times. The double bay at Durham forms a pronounced oblong from east to west, which is also the case at San Michele, Pavia, and Jumièges, but whereas the proportion of the clear width to the width of the double bay at Jumièges is as 1 to about $1\frac{1}{4}$, at Durham it is as 1 to more than $1\frac{1}{2}$. Whatever may have been the first intention of the builder of the choir of Durham, it is certain that the double-bay plan does not find its logical expression in the vaults actually built, but it is equally certain that the form of the vault had been already decided when the triforium stage was reached, as is proved by the vaulting shafts set on the recessed wall-face, and by the rudimentary flying-buttresses under the roof of the triforium. The original stone vaulting of the choir threatened ruin in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, and was replaced by the existing vaulting, which was finished *circa* 1280. The lines of the lunettes of the original vault are still to be seen on the wall of the clerestory, and the inference from the vaults of the choir aisles is that the original vault over the choir finished in 1104 was a ribbed vault of the same type as the actual vault of the north transept. The absence of the usual wall-passages is doubtless due to the desire not to weaken the wall. The vaults of the choir aisles, which may safely be said to have been built by 1096, present the earliest known example of a ribbed vault in the Anglo-Norman school. As in the earlier unribbed groined vaults, the geometrical setting-out is controlled by the semicircular transverse arch or arcade arch, and the diagonal ribs are segments of circles, struck from centres placed much below the springing-line. The vaults of the aisles of the transept and nave and the high vaults of the north and south transepts follow the same system, which is constant, both for the earliest ribbed vaults of the Anglo-Norman school, and for the sexpartite vaults of Caen and its district. The question of the date of the Durham vaults, which was first decided from the documentary evidence by Canon Greenwell in 1881, has been the subject of much controversy during the last ten years, especially in France, but the evidence is incontrovertible. The strongest opponent of the views here expressed, M. le Comte de Lasteyrie, has argued, from the fact that at their springing over the minor piers the diagonal ribs of the choir aisles mask the springing of the outer order of the arcade arch, that the existing ribbed vaults are a later reconstruction of unribbed groined vaults with ashlar springers to the groins, as at Saint-Étienne, Caen, Winchester, etc. But he has failed to notice that this bad fitting, which does not exist at the three other angles of the bay, necessarily results from the plan of the minor pier, and that, if the diagonal rib be suppressed, there is no room for the projecting

springer of the groin which he supposes. The peculiar plan of the vaulting-shafts at the angle of the choir aisle and transept aisle, repeated nearly a century later at Lisieux, is an additional confirmation of the view that these vaults are original, and it cannot be reconciled with M. de Lasteyrie's theory of reconstruction, which, moreover, is emphatically contradicted by the sequence of profiles (mouldings and chevrons) in the vaults of the church, and of the chapter-house which was finished by 1140. The south transept was pushed forward, on account of its being next to the cloister, a little in advance of the north transept, and the idea of vaulting (hitherto unknown for transepts in the Norman school, though usual over choirs) was abandoned, possibly from motives of caution, possibly because of the more restricted means of the convent following the death of bishop William. The clerestory of the south transept was then built with a continuous arcade for a wooden ceiling. In the north transept, however, the idea of vaulting was again taken up, and the existing vault was built during the first twenty years of the twelfth century on the supports and with the abutments originally designed for a vault on the east side, and on the corbels inserted in the west wall. This north transept vault is the earliest high-ribbed vault of the Norman school, and was probably closely followed by the high vaults of the eastern parts of Lessay, which, however, have a complete system of transverse ribs, while at Durham the transverse ribs are absent in the middle of the double bay in all the high vaults. The second change of plan and consequent construction of the existing vaults of the south transept closely followed those of the north transept, but the ribs, instead of being simply moulded, are decorated with zigzags. The same decoration commences in the diagonal ribs of the nave aisles vault westward of the eastern double bay. In the nave there is evidence of the same abandonment of the idea of vaulting, and of its later resumption. The corbels and ribs below the clerestory string are let into the wall, except in the western bay and eastern side of the next bay, where the ribs were evidently built with the walls. The nave vault, built between 1128 and 1133, presents an early example of an important innovation in setting out the rib-curves. Here the semicircular curve is employed, not for the transverse arches, as in the earlier work, but for the diagonal ribs, an advance which Viollet-le-Duc calls the only innovation of the first builders of Gothic vaults, and the transverse arches are pointed, the curves springing somewhat awkwardly from centres placed below the capitals. All the vaults have cells of rubble, plastered, whereas in the earliest ribbed vaults of the Île-de-France, which date from about 1130 or 1135, the cells are constructed from the first in worked stones in regular courses. A decisive proof that the high vaults of the choir, north transept, and nave are original is to be found in the fact that the clerestory centres with the vault, and not with the triforium, showing conclusively that the vaults were built with the clerestories. No claim is advanced here that these Durham vaults were the first ribbed vaults ever constructed. Perhaps they were not even the first of the Anglo-Norman school; but their importance lies in the facts that their chronology is precisely fixed, that they explain the subsequent development of the sexpartite vaults of Caen and its neighbourhood, and that these vaults of the Norman and

Anglo-Norman schools, with their whole structural system of abutment, triforium stories, wall-passages, and the rest, had a much more powerful influence than the works of any other school on the formation of the school of the Île-de-France.

The history of the later work in the cathedral was also described, but it is too well known to need repetition here.

M. Eugène Lefèvre-Pontalis, the President of the *Société Française d'Archéologie*, referring to the eastern aisles of the transept, said that in some recent excavations beneath the present cathedral of Orléans he had found that the church of the beginning of the twelfth century had both eastern and western aisles to its transept, as at Saint Rémi, Reims, and at Winchester and Ely. Referring to the question of the Lombard origin of the double-bay plan, he said that M. Gsell had recently discovered an example of alternating larger and smaller pillars in an early basilica in northern Africa. As to the chronology of the vaults of Durham, he entirely accepted the dates given by Canon Greenwell and Mr. Bilson, and admitted the importance of Durham in the story of the evolution which led up to the beginnings of Gothic in the Île-de-France.

Mr. W. H. St. John Hope next took charge of the party for an examination of the monastic buildings. The earliest portions of these have been assigned, on somewhat uncertain evidence, to bishop Walcher, between 1072 and 1080. But the introduction of the Benedictine monks was actually due to bishop William in 1083, and to that date belong apparently the remains of the first dormitory subvault in the basement of the present deanery. The frater on the south side of the cloister is recorded to have been built by the monks between 1088 and 1091, but only its vaulted cellarage now remains. Recent excavations in connexion with the site of the destroyed laver, or conduit, opposite the frater door, had disclosed the fact that the Norman lavatory had been built in the angle of a smaller cloister than the present, and Mr. Hope showed that if the square of this were set out, the site of Aldhun's "white church," supposing that followed the type of the Dover church, could be pretty closely located. Its nave would then have stood parallel and side by side with the present south aisle, and an existing difference in the levels of the plinths on the western side of the south transept occurs exactly at a point where the large corner turret could have been built up to the older church. The transepts and presbytery of Aldhun's church could easily have continued in use while the presbytery and choir and much of the transepts of the new church begun in 1093 were built up round them. The architectural remains of the Norman lavatory pointed to a continuation of the first cloister until its enlargement by bishop Pudsey. Mr. Hope dealt at length with the architectural history of the later buildings, and at various points during the perambulation of them read extracts from the famous "Rites" of the quaintly-worded descriptions of the uses to which they were put, as recorded after the Suppression by a former inmate of the monastery. Mr. Hope subsequently conducted a large section of the party round the cathedral church, and explained the ancient arrangements, the nature of which had also been fortunately laid down in "Rites."

At the evening meeting the Rev. Dr. Gee read a paper on "Some

points in connexion with the History of Durham Castle." This paper is here printed *in extenso*.

It may be well to ask at the outset why a castle was built at Durham : it is common knowledge that the history of this peninsula is quite modern when compared with the record of Ripon or of York. There is absolutely no trace of any occupation of this river-girdled position before the year A.D. 995. In that year, Uchtred, earl of Northumbria, if I rightly read the later legends, persuaded the congregation of St. Cuthbert to make this impregnable site the final resting place of the body of the saint. He saw clearly enough the magnificent asset that the precious relics would be in the pacification of this part of Northumbria, and he was fully alive to the wonderful natural fortification of Durham. And so St. Cuthbert came to Durham as the most secure position between the Tyne and the Tees. Thus Durham history began, and though walls and defences were raised, no castle was built, despite more than one siege in the restless eleventh century. Then came the Norman Conquest, and, in the fluctuation that followed, the congregation of St. Cuthbert took the wrong side. The Conqueror laid a tyrannous hand upon Durham. The English bishop was deprived, and in 1071, a foreigner was promoted in the person of Walcher. It can scarcely be supposed that the inhabitants of Northumbria were ready to acquiesce in the rule of the Conqueror or to receive the prelate whom he sent, and, indeed, it is probable that the men of Durham would have extruded the bishop as they had extruded the Norman earl, sent to hold the district in 1069. But Waltheof, an Englishman, was promoted by William, in 1072, to be earl of Northumbria. It is directly to the friendship which sprang up between the bishop and the earl that we owe the erection of the castle. Waltheof built it in 1072 for Walcher. The whole region north of the Humber seethed at the moment with discord and rebellion, and William had harried the whole district. The Northumbrians were ready to rise at the first opportunity, and to shake off the Norman yoke. It would be difficult to conceive a more dangerous position for the bishop, suddenly placed in the midst of men who could and would fight, and were violently nationalist. He owed safety and what success he had in the nine troubled years of his episcopate to Waltheof, the earl who built, and probably garrisoned for him this great fortress in which, as Symeon, the Durham historian, tells us, "he might keep himself and his train safe from invaders." Walcher was safe so long as he kept to the castle, but he lost his life at Gateshead, in 1080, in a sudden tumult which his unpopularity seems to have provoked. His murderers rushed at once to pull down his castle, but a four days' siege only showed them how useless their efforts were. From the reign of William I. to the end of the reign of William IV., the castle continued to be the residence of the bishop of Durham. We can only conjecture the general plan of Walcher's castle, and I must content myself at present by saying that we still have the undoubted chapel of 1072, and certain other fragments of that date as well.

The castle arose as a necessary citadel for the bishop in troublous times, and for fully four hundred years it continued to be a strong military fortress. We have seen how it stood its first siege, in 1080, and resisted

its assailants. It was again attacked in 1087, and safely withstood the attempt. It watched the cathedral being built, and, in or about 1120, itself received some final touches from Flambard, who finished the nave. Then came the desperate anarchy of Stephen's reign, when the whole countryside was again drenched in blood. Stephen on the one side tried to force back the intruding Scots, who were seeking to annex Northumbria. On the other side the Scots, fully alive to the importance of Durham as a stronghold, were able to place a bishop in the castle who actually held the fortress for two years and only surrendered when his communications were cut and he himself was virtually starved into submission. We are fortunate enough to possess a curious Latin poem which gives a contemporary description of the miseries of this usurpation and, what is more to the point, presents us with a description of the castle itself. All investigation into the early character of the buildings must begin with this poem of Laurence, afterwards prior of Durham. I may be permitted perhaps to give a translated specimen of what he has to say about the castle. After a general account of the peninsula, with its encircling wall and its three gates, its lofty position, its impregnable character and its precipitous river-banks, Laurence expends all the resources of his vocabulary in painting a word-picture of the castle itself as he knew it, and as he loved it.

Upon the motte the keep sits like a queen ;
 With threatening aspect reckons all her own.
 Grim from the gate below, straight up the mound,
 A wall makes for this donjon's pleasant site.
 Whilst to the upper air the keep ascends,
 Massive within, without in brave array.
 Within, a base three cubits thick doth rise,
 A base compact of solid earth beat hard ;
 Above this looms the fortress higher still
 Conspicuous and comely in its show.
 'Tis seen to rest on twice two pillars here,
 Each firm-knit angle boasts a pillar too,
 Whilst at the sides connecting walls unite,
 And each one ends in frowning curtain wall.
 Then from the building to the battlement,
 A stair gives easy access by its steps,
 And thus arriving at the top the way
 Gives frequent access to the summit there.
 The keep itself presents a rounded form :
 Position, art, conspire to give it grace.
 Hence to the castle downward looks a bridge
 Affording quick return both up and down,
 Wide as it is descending to the base
 With narrow steps not headlong in its flight.
 Beside it from the keep a wall runs down
 And turns its face toward the setting sun,
 Then bending back right up the air-swept bank
 Comprises in its course an area large,
 Until at last it feels the northern blast,
 Strong as before, and gains the keep once more.
 The space surrounded by this lofty wall
 By no means void, of buildings holds a store ;
 Two mighty palaces with many a vault beneath,
 Attest the skill of their artificers.
 Here too there gleams on columns six upreared
 The chapel not too large but beautiful.

Here room joins room, and house joins house
 For everything and everyone its use.
 Here vestments, sacred vessels, polished arms
 Arrest the eye. Here money, meat, and bread
 Are stored—fruit, wine and beer, whilst purest flour
 Has its own place. And yet in all the array
 Of clustered buildings none is idle here.
 The castle's inner court unoccupied
 Contains a well of water always full.

* * * * *

There is a gate of lofty height so strong
 That few, nay women weak, could hold it safe.
 In front a bridge is laid across a moat
 And stretches widely to the other side.
 Till safely flanked with walls it meets the green
 Where joyous youth so often held its sports.
 The castle wall wards off the northern blast
 So does the keep upon the lofty mound;
 Another wall runs from the keep full south
 Protracted to the church's eastern bound.

Such was the castle in the reign of Stephen; but a great disaster befell it about 1155, when fire, which has always been the most formidable foe to Durham, wrought irrevocable havoc upon the stately buildings. It was fortunate that the princely Pudsey was bishop then. He built anew the Norman hall and the constable's gallery above it, and gave us that beautiful doorway which led into his hall. Pudsey's buildings have been the pride and the despair of succeeding generations—their pride, because of stately magnificence, their despair because of structural defects which have proved a constant expense and difficulty, not least in our own days.

A century passed. Henry III. and Edward I. were successively entertained in the castle. In 1284 Antony Bek, patriarch of Jerusalem, became bishop of Durham. It was the dream of Bek to provide for the union of the English and the Scottish crowns by promoting the marriage of the first Prince of Wales with Margaret, the child queen of Scotland. If that marriage had taken place as a result of the far-sighted statesmanship of Edward and of Bek, the whole of the later history of England and of Scotland would have been differently written. The death of the little Margaret cut short the plans of union, and introduced the terrible strife that followed with its memories of Bruce and of Balliol and its battlefields of Bannockburn and of Neville's Cross. That most tragic and yet most magnificent century of Durham history saw not only the erection of Hatfield's throne in the cathedral, but the building of the new castle hall, which still exists, the hall which Bek began and Hatfield probably completed. We have no information as to the reason which prompted the erection of the hall, or the rebuilding of the keep by Hatfield, and are free to suppose that the needs of the Palatinate power, then being carried to its greatest height, demanded an adequate reconstruction of buildings which were probably too small for the growing business of the bishop of Durham.

But I must leave the work of the fourteenth-century bishops. I must pass by the story of the banquet which bishop de Bary gave in 1333 within the castle hall. I must also pass by the fortunes of the castle during the period of the Wars of the Roses, and take my stand

for a moment in the early Tudor days, when a new stage in the history begins, for Durham Castle ceases to be a strong mediæval fortress and figures rather as an ordinary English mansion. This 23rd day of July happens to be the anniversary of a picturesque incident in the new chapter. It will be remembered that Henry VII. called to his aid the great statesman bishop Fox, and set him here at Durham to watch the wiles of the Scottish king, who was well pleased to aid the schemes of Perkin Warbeck. Fox garrisoned and rebuilt Norham Castle and other fortresses, whilst in Durham he made many changes, erecting the present kitchen, improving the hall, and this, it may be, to accommodate an increased soldiery, but not improbably in some connection with a plan which he resolved and essayed for several years. At all events there recurred to him the old scheme of the builder of the castle hall which had come to such a tragic end. The idea of a permanent union between the Scottish and the English crowns now floated before him, and it became the constant policy of Fox to promote the marriage of another Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry VII., with James IV. of Scotland. Margaret was little more than a child, and by the time that all arrangements were complete Fox had left Durham and had gone to Winchester. Then came the famous progress of the princess to her future husband's capital, the story of which has been so quaintly recorded by one of the royal heralds. At the moment no successor had been appointed for Fox, and he obtained permission or commission (I scarcely know which) to accompany the young Margaret to Scotland, and so to witness the successful completion of the long-debated alliance. At place after place on the road the wedding procession was sumptuously entertained, and it is almost tempting to suppose that the long journey of Fox was prompted in part by his desire to welcome the bride in the castle hall which he had so recently beautified and improved. So Margaret fared northwards, and all the circumstances of her extreme youth and her uncertain prospects made Englishmen vie with one another in the warmth of her send-off. She passed through York, Northallerton, and on to Croft, where the sheriff of the bishopric met her; thence to Darlington and so at last to Durham, where at the cathedral gate the bishop and the prior received her with the monks all vested in rich copes and in processional order. Then, to quote the chronicle itself, "After this she was nobly conveyed to the castle where her lodging was prepared . . . The 21st, 22nd and 23rd days of the said month [July, 1503] she sojourned in the said palace of Durham, where she was well cherished and her cross borne by the said bishop, who, on the 23rd day, held whole hall and double dinner and double supper to all comers worthy for to be there. And in the said hall was set all the noblesse as well spirituals as temporals, great and small, the which was welcome, for this was his day of installation." In other words it was the ninth anniversary of Bishop Fox's enthronement at Durham, and he could not let the occasion pass without a final leave taking to all his late neighbours of high rank in the presence of the young princess.

But again I must hurry on. I have no space to tell of Tunstall's new chapel and new gates, of his conduit, or of other things that he did, nor how in Edward's reign the unprincipled Northumberland (a Dudley, not a Percy) strove for the suppression of the see and designed

to make himself Earl of Northumberland indeed by stepping into the dignities of the Earl Palatine, or how he calculated to seize Durham castle and make it his headquarters, from whence he might rule, like a Pudsey or a Hatfield, over the county of Durham. Over all this and over other events we pass and come to another scene connected with the castle. A hundred years have passed since Fox's great banquet. In the meantime the famous mitred abbey of Durham had been swept away to reappear as a cathedral of the new foundation with dean and canons. The old guilds of the city had been reconstituted. The general face of the church had been changed in rite, in ceremony, in furniture. Nowhere in England had the alterations been more sullenly received, until the irritation flamed out into angry revolt, when, in 1569, the whole county rose to place Norfolk and Mary Stuart upon the throne. And nowhere did the resistance of recusants give greater trouble, whilst Jesuits and seminary priests, carrying their lives in their hands, strove to effect another revolution of the faith. And now at last in the year 1603 another procession approaches Durham, from the north this time, and not, as in 1503, from the south. The great grandson of the princess Margaret, who is drawing near the old city, and the dream of Bek, dreamed again by Fox, is at last fulfilled. James VI. of Scotland is on his way to London to be crowned as James I. of England. A modern historian says: "for a month of spring weather James rode south. The land seemed bursting into bud to welcome him, growing greener each day as the ever-increasing train of courtiers wound slowly down out of the north country into the Midland valleys; the rough shouting market places where the masque of welcome and the corporation with its address were lost in the press of men; by ancient steeples rocking with the clash of bells; along open roads hedged with countrymen who had come on pilgrimage across whole counties."¹ Or let us hear the contemporary chronicler who describes the Durham scene: "His Majesty set forward toward Durham . . . and when he came near, the magistrates of the city met him, and behaving themselves as others before them, it was by his Highness as thankfully accepted. And passing through the gates [*i.e.*, on Tranwellgate bridge] whence his Excellence entered the market place, there was an excellent oration made to him, containing in effect the universal joy conceived by his subjects at his approach, being of power to divert from them so great sorrow as had lately possessed them all. The oration ended he passed towards the bishop's house, where he was royally received, the bishop attending his Majesty with an hundred gentlemen in tawny liveries. Of all his entertainment in particular at the bishop's, his merry and well-seasoned jests, as well there as in other parts of his journey, all his words being of full weight, and his jests filled with the salt of wit, yet so facetious and pleasant as they were no less gracious and worthy regard than the words of so royal a Majesty, it is bootless to repeat them, they are so well known."²

In this manner then "the wisest fool in Christendom" was entertained at Durham. I must again pass over much that is interesting connected with the castle; how James came again in 1617, how Charles was

¹ Trevelyan: *England under the*

² J. Nichols: *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, 3, Appendix, 10.

entertained here by bishop Neile in 1633 and set the seal of his approval upon the "innovations" at the cathedral brought in by the Arminian prebendaries, how six years later Charles held council in the hall at the outbreak of the Bishops' Wars, how he passed through as a prisoner years later still, and how the castle was turned into a hospital for the sick and wounded prisoners who were dying off like flies in the cathedral after the battle of Dunbar. I have no space to describe the short-lived attempt to forestall the present use of the buildings, when Cromwell bestowed the cathedral and castle to form the nucleus of his northern university¹; nor how, after the Restoration, when all Durham was rebuilding, Cosin, who loved Durham with all his heart, gave Stapylton, his man of affairs, *carte blanche* to rectify the castle "which the Scots spoiled and mined with gunpowder."

Then Crewe comes before us, Baron Crewe of Stene, who lived in the castle with much magnificence, and entertained here royally when he had purged himself of Jacobite suspicion. And after Crewe, at an interval, follow Butler and Trevor and Egerton and Barrington, each one of whom left his mark upon the castle buildings.

I conclude with the merest reference to one more great meeting in the castle hall, when a kind of farewell was taken of all that the castle had been, an episode that fitly closes the long chapter of its episcopal history. In the autumn of 1827 the Duke of Wellington passed through the county of Durham, and was everywhere received with enthusiasm. As the guest of Lord Ravensworth he came over to the city in company with Sir Walter Scott, and I cannot do better than give Sir Walter's own description of the entertainment given by bishop Van Mildert in the castle hall:—

"October 3 [1827] went to Durham with Lord Ravensworth betwixt one and two. Found the gentlemen of Durham county and town assembled to receive the Duke of Wellington . . . The Duke arrived very late. There were bells and cannon and drums, trumpets and banners, besides a fine troop of yeomanry . . . We dined about one hundred and forty or fifty men, a distinguished company for rank and property.

Lords and Dukes and noble Princes
All the pride and flower of Spain.

"We dined in the old baronial hall, impressive from its rude antiquity, and fortunately free from the plaster of former improvement, as I trust it will long be from the gingerbread taste of modern Gothicizers. The bright moon streaming in through the old Gothic windows contrasted strangely with the artificial lights within. Spears, banners and armour were intermixed with the pictures of the old bishops, and the whole had a singular mixture of baronial pomp with the grave and more chastened dignity of prelacy."

A letter from Dr. Phillpotts, then a prebendary, and later the famous bishop of Exeter, adds a few touches: "Sometimes I doubted whether the hero or the poet was fixing most attention. The latter, I need hardly tell you, appeared unconscious that he was regarded differently from the others about him, until the good bishop arose and proposed his health."

¹ Described in Dr. Fowler's *History of the University of Durham*.

Wednesday, July 22nd.

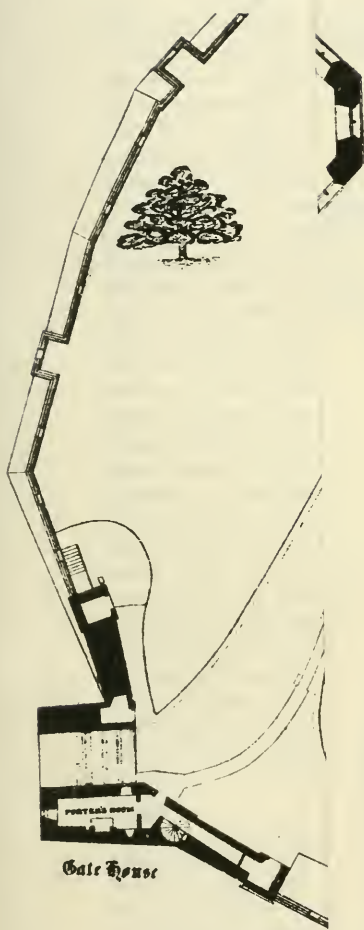
The members first went by train to Bishop Auckland and thence drove to Raby Castle (for ground plan see opposite), where Lord Barnard received them and gave a short address. The county, he said, was overshadowed by Yorkshire on the one hand, and by Northumberland on the other. It was principally a thickly populated industrial district, but nevertheless it contained in the western parts some of the most beautiful scenery in England.

The principal charm of the county of Durham was its glorious traditional history under the prince-bishops. As they were all aware, it was to a certain extent independent of the rest of the country, but what the origin of the palatinate was he was not clear. There was still a remnant of the time of the prince-bishops in the holding of the Chancery Court at Durham with its own chancellor. As to the origin of Raby, John de Neville was granted a licence to erect a "chastel" in 1379. It was stated that there was a mansion at Staindrop called Canute's Hall, but that could hardly have been on the same site as the present castle. There was probably a dwelling at Raby when the prince-bishops held courts, and exercised almost royal functions: they had a mint, raised armies, and had admiralty jurisdiction on the coast. They were great statesmen, and spent perhaps a great deal too much of their time out of their principality.

Raby Castle, like other castellated buildings, was crenellated and fortified by licence granted by bishop Hatfield in 1378. It was originally the home of the very old northern family of the Brancepeths, from whom it passed to the Nevilles by marriage, and until about a century and a half ago there was a village just outside the castle. There was probably in early times a small mansion house, with a Danish settlement, and he would be surprised if the original site of the mansion house was not the same as that upon which the castle was built. The castle was associated with the Neville family, who were very properly looked upon as one of the great northern families of the country.

Lord Barnard traced the history of the castle to modern times, and pointed out that although successive occupiers had regarded it as small for their requirements, and had erected additional buildings, its main outline had been very little altered since the time of the Nevilles. The castle occupied about two and a half acres. The walls were of enormous thickness and great strength, and those of the tower were battered. The castle was built on solid rock, only one part was vaulted, and that was the cellar under the kitchen. An interesting feature of the castle was the fact that little or no timber was used in its construction. All the floors up to the second and third stories were built of stone. The castle itself is outwardly a noble and picturesque building of irregular plan, and mostly of the last quarter of the fourteenth century, unencumbered by any attached buildings or modern surroundings, but internally, like so many other feudal castles, it has been much altered to accommodate it to changes of fashion. Beyond one side of the hall, parts of the chapel and the kitchen with its vaulted chamber, little of the original interior remains.

Sir Henry Howorth, in thanking Lord Barnard for his hospitality, reminded the meeting that it was in that hall that the Institute was



RABY CASTLE, I
GROUND PLAN

Scale 40 Feet to an

5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60

L A K E

entertained more than forty years before by the Duke of Cleveland, the ancestor of the present owner.

The drive was next continued to Staindrop, where, after luncheon, the parish church was visited, and described by the Rev. J. F. Hodgson, who was congratulated on this being his eightieth birthday. The first mention of Staindrop was in the reign of Canute, who had a manor there. It was included in the grant to St. Cuthbert. Mr. Hodgson pointed out that it contains traces of its Saxon nave and the lower part of the chancel arch, through the walls of which arcades were cut in the twelfth century for the added aisles. It was considerably enlarged early in the thirteenth century by the addition of another bay and a western tower to the nave, and by north and south transeptal chapels. The chancel underwent reconstruction about the same time, and still retains triple sedilia and a drain of rich work, reminiscent of the Nine Altars at Durham. The south aisle was enlarged as a chantry chapel about 1344, and the thirteenth century chancel partly rebuilt in 1412, when the church was appropriated to a college of secular priests established here by Ralph Nevill of Neville's Cross, first earl of Westmorland. For their accommodation a fine series of stalls was put in, and in the middle of the chancel was set up the magnificent alabaster tomb with effigies of the earl and his two wives. To the north of the chancel is an original vestry with living-room over, and the nave has a south porch with a stone roof. A small stone porch at the south-east corner of the south aisle is actually a fire-proof vestry to the chantry altar, with its east window cut down into a doorway. The chancel is at present undergoing "restoration," and the great Neville tomb, which had been relegated towards the close of the eighteenth century from its original position to a remote corner of the south aisle, is lying in a disjointed condition preparatory to its re-erection a few feet north of its present position. The large wooden monument with effigies of the fifth earl and his two wives is in a similar condition. Both Mr. Hodgson and Mr. Hope condemned the removal, during a former restoration, of the plaster from the walls of the nave and its aisles. They also pleaded for the restoration of the great alabaster tomb to its original position in the chancel. On the proposal of Sir Henry Howorth, it was agreed to make an appeal to Lord Barnard in favour of the replacement of the old tombs if it were feasible.

From Staindrop the journey was continued to Winston station, and thence by rail to Darlington. Here the fine parish church of St. Cuthbert was inspected under the guidance of the Rev. J. F. Hodgson, who was inclined to agree with the old view that the building was the work of bishop Pudsey between 1193 and his death in 1195. In the light of later knowledge, however, this opinion may have to be modified. The so-called "rood-loft" in front of the chancel is actually part of an early fourteenth century support to prevent the collapse of the eastern side of the central tower.

The evening meeting was occupied by an address from the veteran Canon Greenwell, now in his eighty-ninth year, on the evidence afforded by Great Britain as to the origin and development of the spear and dagger during the bronze period, which he claimed largely to have taken place in Britain. In illustration of his remarks the Canon exhibited

his magnificent and unrivalled collection of objects of this period, including the famous and now historic series of implements and family treasures found together in the Heathery Burn cave in the county of Durham. The Canon concluded with an expression of regret that he had not been able to take a more active part in the meetings of the Institute and they must put it down, he said, not to want of will but to want of power.

Sir Henry Howorth expressed the delight of the meeting with the extraordinary knowledge and lucidity of the address.

Thursday, July 23rd.

The programme for Thursday began with a visit to Escombe, where the perfect pre-Conquest church, consisting only of a small square chancel and a lofty nave, with later porch, was described by Mr. C. R. Peers, who said that from a comparison of the work with other and particularly dateable buildings, he was inclined to ascribe it to the ninth century, a view in which others present concurred. A large number of Roman stones had been used in the construction of the church. The chancel arch was, in his opinion, not so early as the work they would see at Monkwearmouth. M. Lefèvre-Pontalis referred to churches of similar plan and section in the Asturias, which apparently belonged to the same period. Mr. Francis Bond thought that the long-and-short work visible in the building pointed to a much earlier date, and that the chancel arch, like many of the stones used in the walling, was Roman work re-used.

Mr. Hope pointed out that until the nineteenth century the walls had retained the plaster with which they were meant from the first to be clothed, and that probably the exterior had been similarly treated. Such buildings, when whitewashed, as they certainly were, were no doubt the "white churches" of the chroniclers, and Aldhun's church at Durham had been a case in point.

A visit was next paid to St. Andrew's Church at South Auckland, an interesting cruciform structure with aisles to the nave and a western tower, which the Rev. J. F. Hodgson was inclined to ascribe in the main to bishop Robert Stichill, who held the see from 1261 to 1274. A college attached to the church was founded and re-organized by bishop Anthony Bek, who was apparently responsible for certain changes in the chancel and other parts of the building. The uppermost stage of the tower was added about 1417, and the fine choir stalls put in by cardinal Langley. At the west end of the north aisle is an extensive collection of fragments of Saxon crosses and tombstones, together with a wooden effigy of a cross-legged knight and a stone figure of a lady. With these is a large limestone slab with the casements of a small monumental brass, remarkable for having been so cut as to form part of the altar steps, with a section of the brass laid in each of the three divisions.

After luncheon at Bishop Auckland a visit was paid to the splendid chapel of the episcopal residence, which was described by the Rev. J. F. Hodgson. This, he pointed out, had originally been the great hall begun by bishop Pudsey, and almost entirely reconstructed by bishop Anthony Bek; and consisted of a middle alley with broad side alleys

divided from it by four wide and lofty arches on either hand. Owing to the destruction of the castle chapel under the Commonwealth, the great hall was converted in 1662-4 into a chapel by bishop John Cosin, to whom are due the clerestory and the splendid flat wooden ceiling, originally richly painted and gilded, the stall-work, the screen from the first bay, which forms an ante-chapel, and the "wind organ" now in a gallery at the west end. The floor was re-laid by bishop van Mildert, and the reredos added by bishop Lightfoot. The only other interesting part of the castle is a wing begun by bishop Ruthall and finished by bishop Tunstall, both of whom have carved their arms upon the work done by them.

From Bishop Auckland the journey was continued past the site of the Roman fort of *Vinovium* at Binchester, to Brancepeth, where the church was described by Canon Fowler. It was dedicated, he pointed out, in honour of St. Brandon, and was interesting chiefly for its rich and remarkable wood fittings, believed to be the work of bishop Cosin when rector here from 1626 to the usurpation. They include the whole of the stall-work and chancel screen, the altar, the pulpit, the font cover, several enclosed pews in the transeptal chapels, and the pews throughout the church. From notes taken by him in 1863 Dr. Fowler showed that the church then possessed a reading-desk of equal beauty to the pulpit, and that the pews retained an original disposition, which had since been most unnecessarily destroyed, as well as the doors with which they all were fitted. Over the chancel arch was the original fifteenth century canopy of the rood-loft, and below that was fixed a piece of panelling with exquisite geometrical tracery, believed to have been brought from Durham after the Suppression. It forms the subject of a memoir by Billings. The chancel, together with the vestry of the south chapel, was late fourteenth century work, and Mr. Hodgson had that day furnished him with evidence that it should be dated between 1371 and 1381. In the chancel now lie the truly colossal stone figure of a cross-legged knight, believed to represent Robert Neville, who was killed at Berwick in 1319, and two very fine oaken effigies of Ralph, second earl of Westmorland, and his wife, Margaret Cobham. Both wear the Yorkist livery collar of suns and roses. These figures now lie upon the base of what was once a high tomb that stood in the middle of the chancel. The church is also of considerable interest architecturally, and chiefly of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. At the west end of the north aisle is a good collection of ancient monumental slabs, and in the south chapel a fine "Flanders kist," of a date *circa* 1360-70.

At the evening meeting Mr. John Bilson read a paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on "The Place of Durham in the Evolution of Gothic Architecture," of which the following is a summary: The beginnings of the Norman school are discernible in the abbey church of Bernay, a work of the first half of the eleventh century. By the time of the conquest of England the school was fully formed, and achieving such masterpieces for the time as Jumièges and Saint-Étienne at Caen. The accident of the conquest led to the transference of the centre of activity from Normandy to England during the last quarter of the eleventh century. The Normans developed here the logic of construction, and they were innovators in the practice of expedients

which only needed fuller development to reach the essentials of what we call Gothic. Their structural advance receives its most pronounced manifestation in the cathedral church of Durham, which is quite Gothic in construction, though still Romanesque in expression. After the opening of the twelfth century the centre of the Norman school returned to Caen, and there was another important development in vaulting, the sexpartite and similar systems, which contributed much towards ultimate Gothic solution. It was not given to the Normans to achieve the final solution; having done so much, they had built up powerful traditions, which in themselves were a bar to further rapid advance. Thus the architecture of lower Normandy in the latter part of the twelfth century retains more Romanesque character than contemporary English work, which again retains far more than does upper Normandy nearer to the *Île-de-France*. This last school, one of the poorest of all until the second quarter of the twelfth century, had no well-established traditions to hamper its advance; and, profiting by the experience of its predecessors, adopted and improved upon their expedients, giving them a new and fitting expression, and achieved the final steps in the evolution of Gothic. The glory of its achievement is in no way diminished by the fact that others had preceded it in the earlier stages of the journey, nor are the partial successes of the earlier stages less noteworthy. And one of the buildings which looms out largest in this earlier story is the cathedral church of Durham.

Friday, July 24th.

The members journeyed first by train to Sunderland, and thence by road to the ancient church of St. Peter, at Monkwearmouth. Mr. C. R. Peers, who described the building, said that the church was of extremely early construction, and its earliest parts could satisfactorily be dated to probably the year 674. To this date belonged the western portions of the nave and the lower stages of the western tower, which originally consisted of a porch with arched openings in each of its three free sides and a chamber above. This was subsequently carried up as a tower, but at what date is uncertain, the work being apparently of the ninth century, which was seemingly an impossible date historically. The piers of the chancel arch are contemporary with the tower, and had been supposed at one time to belong to a second church of St. Mary, which perhaps stood in line with St. Peter's to the east, but this view could not be upheld. Mr. Peers also called attention to the remarkable sculptures in the lower stories of the tower, and to the extraordinary collection of early carvings, etc., now stored in the vestry. The vicar, the Rev. H. S. Boutflower, pointed out that according to a passage in one of the Venerable Bede's sermons it was the aim in his time to build churches of the same dimensions as those of Solomon's Temple, and the measurements of the Monkwearmouth church in feet corresponded exactly to those of the Temple in cubits.

The journey was next continued to Hylton Castle, where the party was hospitably received by Mr. W. M. Parrington, who had generously provided refreshments. The castle, Mr. Hope explained, had owed its origin to one Roman of Hylton, to whom the prior and convent of Durham, in 1157, had granted the privilege of having a chaplain to perform divine service in his chapel of Hylton. From Roman down to

1739, the castle had continued as the home of the Hyltons in unbroken male descent, an unusual thing in so unsettled a district. The existing building was but the gatehouse to a large mansion which had never been built, and was the work of William of Hylton, between 1376 and 1435. On the inner or eastern face was a large and finely carved representation of the white hart badge of king Richard II., but the royal banner on the west front bore the arms first adopted by king Henry IV., about 1407. This front is also decorated with a large number of shields of arms, as well as a large banner of the Hylton arms within a canopied niche, now moved from its original place. But the heraldry showed that the shields were of more than one date, and had apparently been collected into their present position. Mr. Hope called attention to the machicolated parapets surmounted by stone figures, among which were the remains of two large images of St. George and St. Michael, each standing on a dragon.

The shell of the chapel, on rising ground to the north-east, was also inspected. This was entirely rebuilt in the third quarter of the fifteenth century by William, lord Hylton, whose arms it bears, as an aisleless parallelogram, but early in the sixteenth century semi-octagonal transepts were thrown out, divided by floors, each into two stories. This interesting structure is now roofless, and falling rapidly into decay. The party then returned to Durham by rail, and after luncheon reassembled at the castle, which was explained by Mr. C. C. Hodges. (See plan facing page 328.)

Mr. Hodges addressed a few words to the visitors on the castle generally, and said that the site of the city of Durham was one of great interest from every point of view. Geologically it was of interest as a piece of sandstone rock isolated by the action of the river round it, so conspicuously that there was a tradition that the stone was taken out of the bed of the river and used to build the cathedral and castle. As far back as 1532 that tradition was extant. The actual historic evidence they had of any occupation of the plateau on which the cathedral was built was the coming of St. Cuthbert's body. The building of the castle did not date earlier than 1072, but there was probably some kind of defensive earthwork on the spot before. The city occupied an oval space of ground something like 1,550 yards in length and 500 yards in width. The castle was built at the north end of the promontory and the cathedral occupied the termination of it. The site was surrounded by a wall which had two gates and two bridges. The principal gate was the gaol gate in Queen-street, and the other gate the water gate at the end of the North Bailey. Another gate crossed the Bailey near the church of St. Mary-le-Bow, which got its name from the Bow or arch that crossed the street, and which was taken down when the church was rebuilt. The plan of the castle was a triangle of considerable extent. It was a very large castle, because it was the centre of the palatinate of Durham, where the bishops lived in regal splendour. They had every regal right over the palatinate, except that they could not levy taxes to go to war and could not go to war without the permission of the king.

Taking the castle chronologically, Mr. Hodges first conducted the visitors to the Norman chapel, which he described as one of the most interesting that could be found. Mr. Bilson called attention to the

remarkable similarity of the capitals to those of the nave of Gravelle-Sainte-Honorine, near Havre, photographs of which he exhibited. The unusual quarter-round profile of the abacus also occurs in the nave of Gravelle, and in the choir of Montivilliers. Mr. Hope suggested that the so-called chapel was only a sub-vault to the actual chapel which stood over it.

The Norman gallery was next visited. This was built by bishop Pudsey, and here Mr. Hodges remarked that that munificent prelate had two architects, who, while skilled in detail, were not successful as constructive architects, and the building he had erected had failed from structural debility. That part of the castle showed signs of giving way, and had it not been for the action of bishop Langley in buttressing all the west end would have been in the Wear. Passing down the noble black oak staircase, the visitors descended to the Tunstall Gallery, with its tapestry of the time of bishop Cosin and its beautiful Norman doorway, and thence returned to the great hall. The bulk of the hall, said Mr. Hodges, was of the time of bishop Bek, and dated from the fourteenth century. The great door and two of the windows belonged to the original building. He lamented that the magnificent oak panelling of the time of bishop Cosin was destroyed many years ago. A walk along the terrace, from which beautiful views of the city and vicinity were obtained, completed the afternoon's proceedings.

After tea Canon Greenwell met the party in the cathedral library, once the monks' dormitory, and gave an address on the history and character of the library itself and of the books that composed it. He also discussed the fine collection of Saxon crosses and gravestones from various parts of the bishopric, and referred to the long-standing controversy as to the body of St. Cuthbert, whose skeleton, he had no hesitation in saying, was that now lying beneath the site of the shrine behind the high altar of the cathedral church. In thanking Canon Greenwell for his address Sir Henry Howorth took the opportunity of suggesting what a safe home the cathedral library would be for many remains of Saxon crosses, now lying sadly neglected in many churchyards in the diocese. Here they would be placed with other similar stones, a comparison with which would greatly facilitate their explanation.

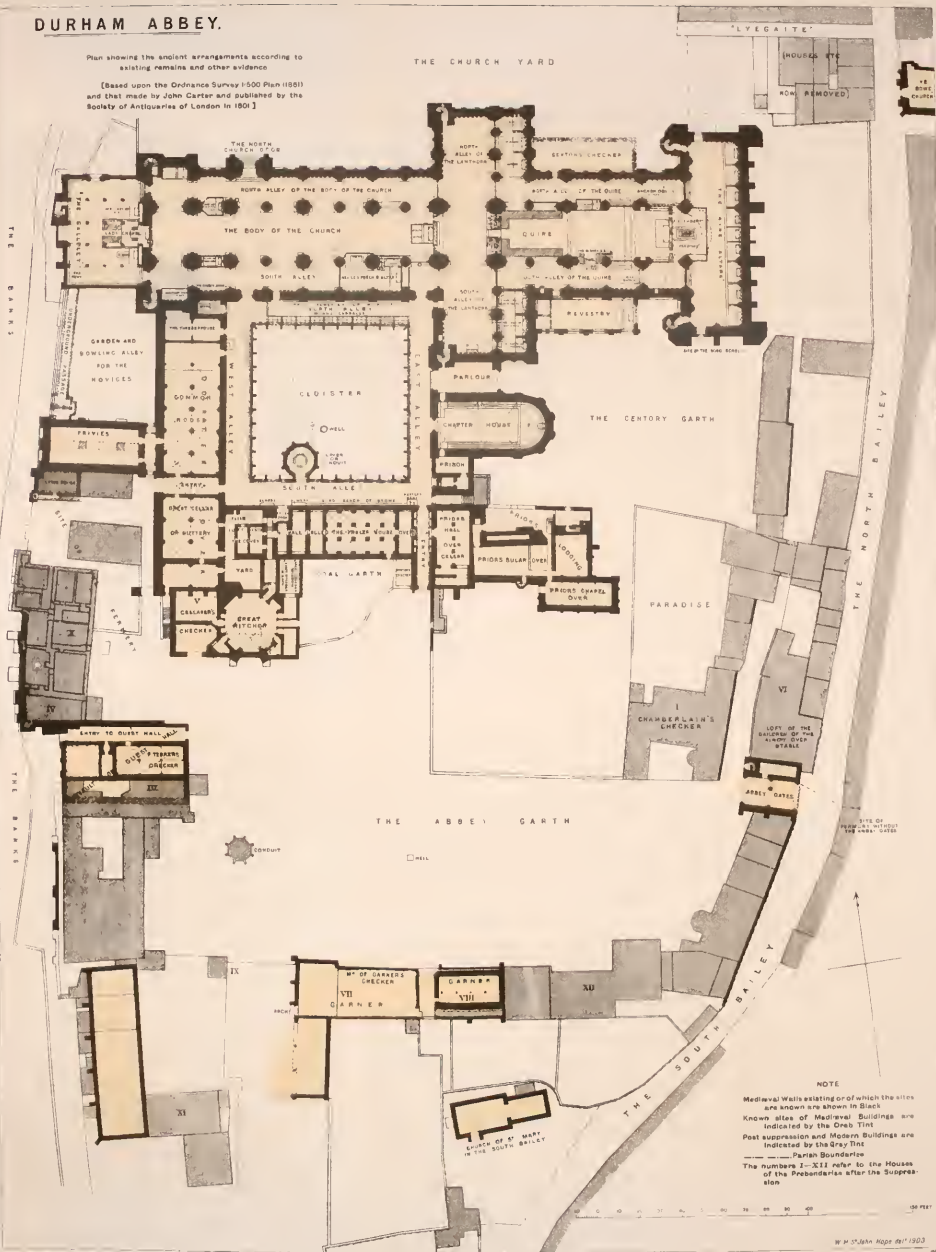
In the evening Mr. Kenneth C. Bayley, F.S.A., read a paper in the castle courtyard on some early points in connexion with the history of the city of Durham. The speaker said that Framwellgate and Elvet bridges were built in their present position so that they could be commanded from the castle, for in the days when they were built Durham was the great fortress of the North. The first great change came shortly after the Conquest, when bishop Flambard levelled the space between the castle and the cathedral, which was then occupied with mean houses, and made it as plain as a field, in order to lessen the danger from fire to both buildings and to keep them clear of filth. Mr. Bayley went on to narrate many interesting facts about the early history of the city, which was then divided into several divisions, each with its own court. In 1179 bishop Pudsey granted a charter, which conferred certain mercantile privileges on the inhabitants. In the middle of the fifteenth century a reactionary policy set in, and the bishop again exercised a more direct control over the affairs of the



DURHAM ABBEY.

Plan showing the ancient arrangements according to
existing remains and other evidence

[Based upon the Ordnance Survey 1:500 Plan (1881) and that made by John Carter and published by the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1801.]



city. In 1565 a charter of incorporation was granted, and in 1602 this was succeeded by a more liberal charter. At the end of the seventeenth century the episcopal borough of Durham was virtually independent of the bishop. Amongst other incidents mentioned in the paper was one which occurred in 1674, when the archdeacon of Durham was arrested for debt within the cloisters.

Saturday, July 25th.

Gainford church was described by Mr. C. R. Peers, and is an interesting building, mostly of the early part of the thirteenth century, with a fine eastern triplet to the chancel, and an engaged western tower with arches to the aisles as well as the nave. On the north of the chancel is an ancient vestry, and in the north porch is a fine collection of fragments of early crosses and gravestones. In the churchyard in the angle of the chancel and south aisle is a good mediaeval tomb to Sir William Pudsey and Elizabeth, his wife, which Mr. Peers suggested would be better cared for if room could be found for it inside the church. A short visit was also paid, by the kindness of the present occupier, Mr. George Harrison, to Gainford Hall, a picturesque structure built by John Cradock in 1600, with a good stucco cornice and oak panelling in one of the lower rooms.

Wyliffe church, which was next visited, was also described by Mr. Peers, who pointed out that its chief feature of interest was the early painted glass still remaining in the large fourteenth century windows in the south wall. As regards the tracery openings, the glazing, though somewhat "restored," is complete, with figures of angels with musical instruments and representations of the Holy Trinity, the Majesty, and Our Lady and Child respectively. The lights were filled with saints under canopies, but portions only of these now remain. Built into the south wall externally is a good gravestone with ornate cross and a pair of shears and incised inscription inlaid with lead to Isende de Hielagh, wife of Thomas de Thorp.

After luncheon at the Morritt Arms at Greta Bridge the journey was resumed to Eggleston abbey, the picturesque ruins of which occupy a charming site overlooking the river Tees. Mr. Hope explained briefly the history and peculiarities of the order of Praemonstratensian or White Canons to which the abbey belonged, and referred to the foundation of Eggleston from the neighbouring abbey of St. Agatha during the closing years of the twelfth century. To this period belong the north wall and west end of the aisleless nave; but in the middle of the thirteenth century the church was extended eastwards and followed later by a new crossing and enlarged south transept. The north transept was reconstructed about the same time, but its ruins had been removed within the last few years to pave a stable-yard! Lastly, about a century after the foundation, the nave was widened by 6 feet, instead apparently of carrying out a scheme for adding to it a south aisle. Only some remains of the outer walls of the church are now left, with such portions of the eastern range of buildings as have escaped the destroyers of the north transept. These included the vaulted substruction and other parts of the reredorter and what may have been the abbot's lodgings. In the nave of the church are a

number of interesting indents of brasses, and a large marble slab, now in three pieces, with the name of Thomas Rokely, "bastard," and the prayer, "Ihu for thi passions ser, have mersi of thi sinfull her." Mr. Hope pointed out that the abbey, although suppressed with the lesser monasteries, was refounded by letters patent in 1536-7 and survived till the overthrow of the greater houses three years later. M. Pontalis, president of the French Archaeological Institute, also spoke on the characteristics of the abbey buildings, compared with similar contemporary ones in France.

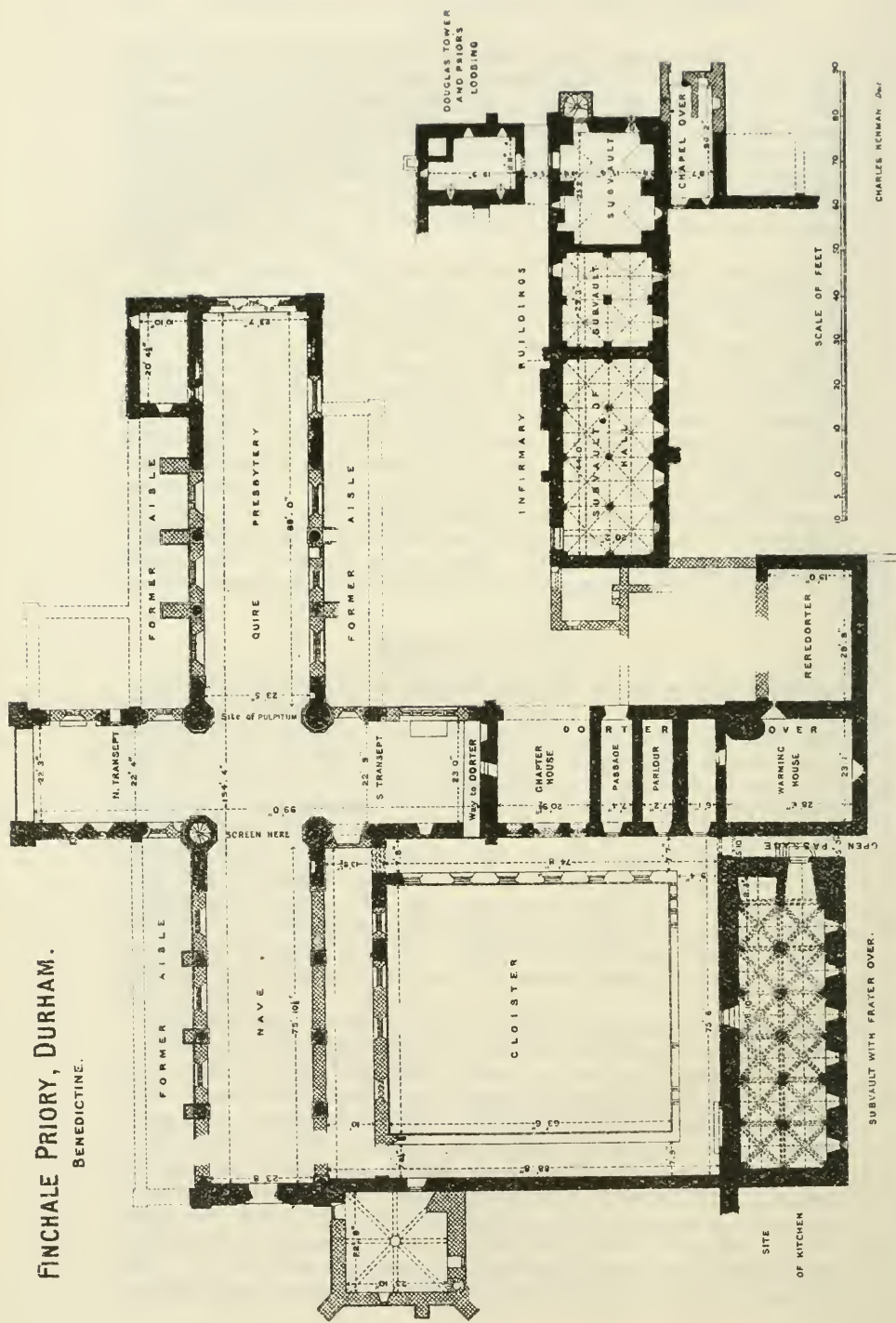
Barnard Castle, which was the last place in the day's programme, was also described by Mr. Hope. The castle is grandly situated on a series of rocky platforms forming the several baileys on a high cliff overlooking the Tees, but its subdivisions are now gardens and orchards, and no general survey of the castle can be made. Mr. Hope pointed out that its plan conformed to that of the Norman mount-and-bailey type, but had been fortified from its foundation by Bernard Baliol before 1130, with walls of stone instead of banks of earth, derived from the rock on which it stood. The *motte*, or highest part, was encircled by a wall, in the ring of which a later tower had been intruded, as at Conisborough, probably late in the thirteenth century. The basement of this afforded an unusual example of a nearly flat domed vault of stones set on edge. After visiting the castle, the Institute was hospitably entertained by Dr. and Miss Richardson.

Monday, July 27th.

The party first drove to Pittington church, an interesting building, which was described by Mr. C. C. Hodges. It has suffered much at the hands of "restorers" and rebuilders, but retains the side walls and remains of the windows of a late Saxon or early Norman nave, with later arcades into the added aisles. The older portions of the north arcade are late Norman with bold spiral bands round the pillars. Outside the north aisle, below the level of the original windows, are two blocked loops, some distance apart, which apparently lighted a destroyed chamber of some kind that stood within the aisle. Mr. Hodges said that in 667 the pope sent relics of St. Laurence to the church at Pittington. The manor is mentioned in 1258 and the new hall was erected in 1450. Pittington Hall Garth was a favourite residence of the priors of Durham, the last one having lived there from 1524 to 1540.

Lumley Castle, which was next visited, was described by Mr. Hope as one of a group of late fourteenth century buildings which illustrated the transition from such great towers as that of Rochester or the White Tower in London to the courtyard type of house, consisting of an open quadrangle with ranges of chambers on all four sides and towers at the corners. The Institute had within recent years visited other examples at Middleham, Bolton (begun 1379), Bodiham (1385), and Wressle, and another was to be found at Sheriff Hutton (1382). Lumley castle was built by Sir Ralph Lumley, who obtained a licence to crenellate from bishop Skirlaw in 1389, and another from the king in 1392. To him was due most of the existing structure, including the fine display of heraldry over the eastern entrance, but his grandson,

FINCHALE PRIORY, DURHAM. BENEDICTINE.



John lord Lumley (1544-1609), was responsible for all the uncusped Tudor windows and the double pile of shields on the west side of the quadrangle. The later alterations to the south and west fronts were carried out by Sir John Vanbrugh between 1721 and 1728 for Richard, the second earl of Scarborough, but had been projected by the first earl. Mr. Bilson pointed out that the several builders of the northern group of houses, like Lumley, were all related by marriage, and had fought together abroad, and he thought it not unlikely that their castles were built out of the spoil of the French wars, *e.g.* Bolton in Wensleydale, Sheriff Hutton, Wressle, Lumley (all houses of the quadrangle type of plan), Raby and Gilling. John lord Neville was the builder of Raby (the licence to crenellate is dated 1378) and Sheriff Hutton (licence to crenellate, 1381). One of his daughters, Matilda, married a cousin of Richard lord Scrope, who built Bolton in 1379. Another daughter, Eleanor, was the wife of Ralph lord Lumley, who crenellated Lumley *de novo* in 1392. Sir Thomas Percy, the builder of Wressle, was a nephew of John Neville's first wife, and his sister-in-law, Hotspur's mother, was John Neville's sister. Thomas de Elton, the builder of Gilling, was one of the executors of John Neville's will. The names of John Neville and three of the executors of his will (including Thomas de Elton) occur in the list of letters of protection for John of Gaunt's expedition in 1369. Sir Henry Howorth, on behalf of the members, thanked Lord and Lady Scarborough for allowing them such free access to their castle. He reminded them that the Lumleys took their name from this estate, and they had an unbroken record as typical English gentry. After a perambulation of the principal chambers and an enjoyment of the fine view from the top of the castle the party continued its journey to Chester-le-Street. Here, after luncheon, a visit was paid to the church, which was described by Mr. C. C. Hodges. The building is architecturally not remarkable, except for its stone spire and the curious anchoridge at the west end of the north aisle, but is noteworthy, apart from its historical associations with the body of St. Cuthbert, which so long rested here, for the curious series of posthumous effigies of ancestors, collected or placed here by John lord Lumley, the author of the late sixteenth century changes at the castle.

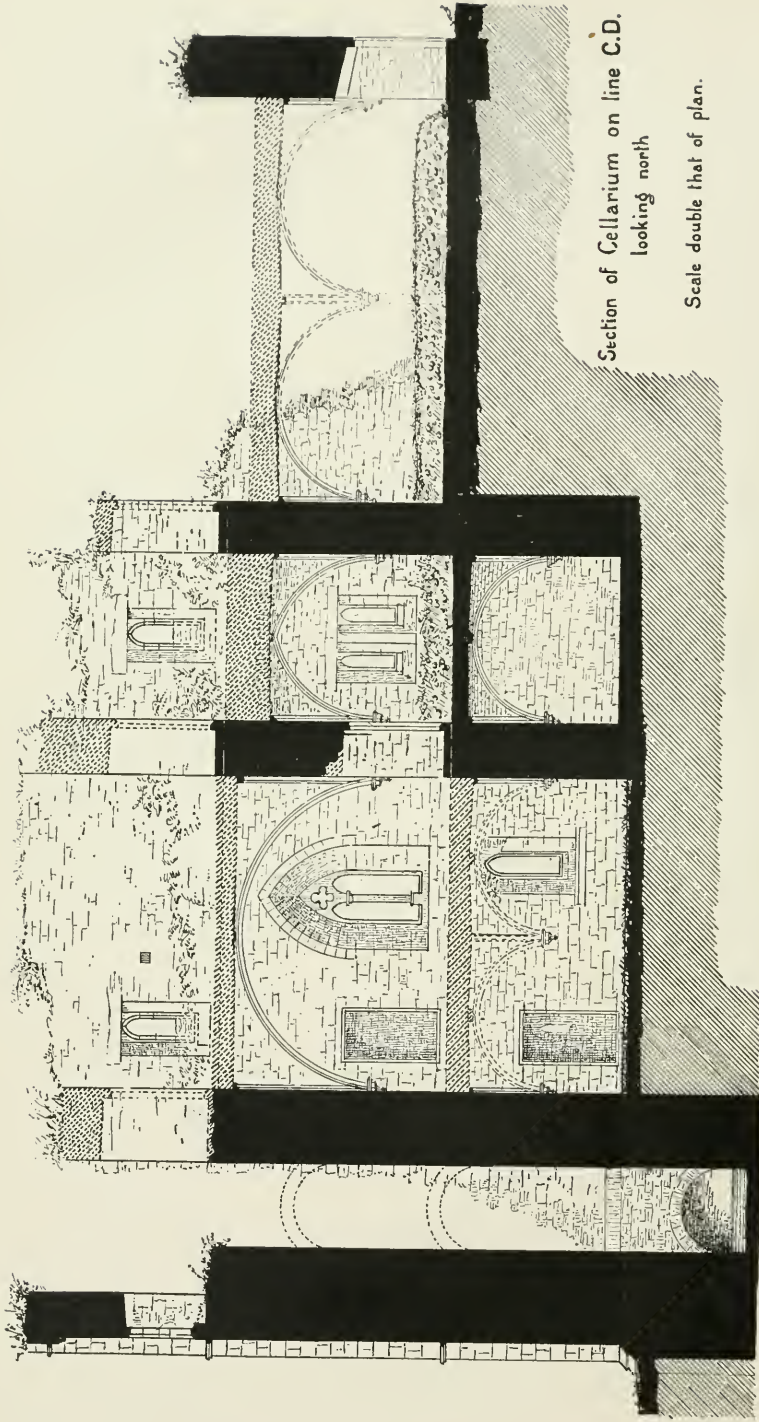
Finchale priory (see plan) was the last objective, and was described by Mr. Hope. Its story, he said, began with that of St. Godrie, who was successively a pedlar, a pirate, a palmer, and a pious person, and eventually settled here as a hermit about 1110, and died in 1170. He built at Finchale first a wooden chapel, but afterwards a stone church, in which he was buried. The priory was founded in 1196 as a cell of Durham, and endowed with the lands of an earlier foundation of Black Canons, established at Baxterwood, nearer Durham. The inmates first used St. Godrie's church, but soon began to replace it by a larger structure, with attached monastic buildings, of which considerable remains exist. The church was cruciform with a tower and spire over the crossing and aisles to both choir and nave, but was nearly a century in building. In 1364-1367 the aisles were unroofed and pulled down, the arcades walled up, and new windows inserted in the blocking; probably, as suggested by Mr. C. C. Hodges, to give more light to the unclerestoried choir and nave. The unusual length of the

eastern area was no doubt due to the existence therein of St. Godrie's tomb, and the church was also remarkable for the cylindrical piers of the steeple. The buildings round the cloister, with the exception of the frater, which stands upon a very perfect subvault, are much ruined, but a large group to the south-east containing the infirmary and prior's lodging, is also fairly perfect, though much encumbered with rubbish and fallen masonry. The site of the priory is of unusual beauty, on a gentle slope beside a bend of the river Wear, with a wooded rocky bank opposite.

In the evening the annual business meeting was held, when reports of the Council and of the Treasurer were presented, showing a most prosperous state of affairs. The report of the Council and the cash account for the year 1907-1908 will be found on pages 345 and 346. Various suggestions were also received as to the place of next year's meeting, Lincoln, Oxford and Tenby being amongst those mentioned, but the choice was, as usual, left to the Council. Votes of thanks were afterwards passed to the University authorities, the owners of houses and castles, the incumbents of the churches visited, to the readers of papers and demonstrations of buildings, and to Mr. W. H. Knowles, the Honorary Secretary of the meeting, through whose untiring efforts its great success was so largely due.

Tuesday, July 28th.

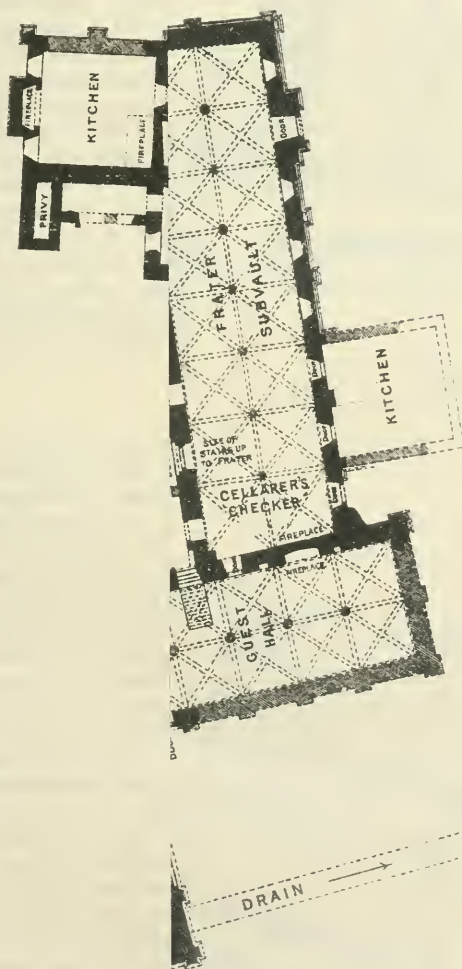
This day was devoted to a joint visit of the Institute and the Yorkshire Archaeological Society to Easby and Richmond. On arrival at the latter place by special train the party first proceeded, some on foot and some in carriages, to Easby, when the extensive remains of the Premonstratensian abbey of St. Agatha were inspected under the guidance of Mr. Hope. Its plan, he pointed out, was exceptionally irregular, the cloister being lozenge-shaped instead of square, and the dormer had been squeezed out of its normal position over the chapter-house, etc., and built out on the west. The infirmary block was disposed on the north, but the only way to it was through the church, instead of by the usual passage. For all these irregularities it was difficult to account, inasmuch as there was ample level ground to the east and north. Although the abbey was founded in 1152 there were few traces of any important work before the close of the twelfth century, to which date most of the church had belonged. The infirmary block, the chapter-house, etc., and the western range of buildings were early thirteenth century work, and the frater and its subvault *circa* 1270-80. The western range is partly of two and partly of three stories, and combines in a most ingenious manner the sleeping and other quarters of the canons, with ample but separate accommodation for guests. A move was next made to Easby parish church, where Mr. Peers pointed out its architectural features and the remarkable series of early paintings on the walls and window jambs of the chancel. The party then returned to Richmond, and, after luncheon, proceeded to the site of the Grey Friars monastery. Here Mr. Peers described the main features of friars' houses, and showed how the usual narrow crossing had been surmounted at Richmond by a fine and lofty late fifteenth century tower, which fortunately



Section of Cellarium on line C.D.
looking north

Scale double that of plan.

ST. AGATHA'S ABBEY, RICHMOND.



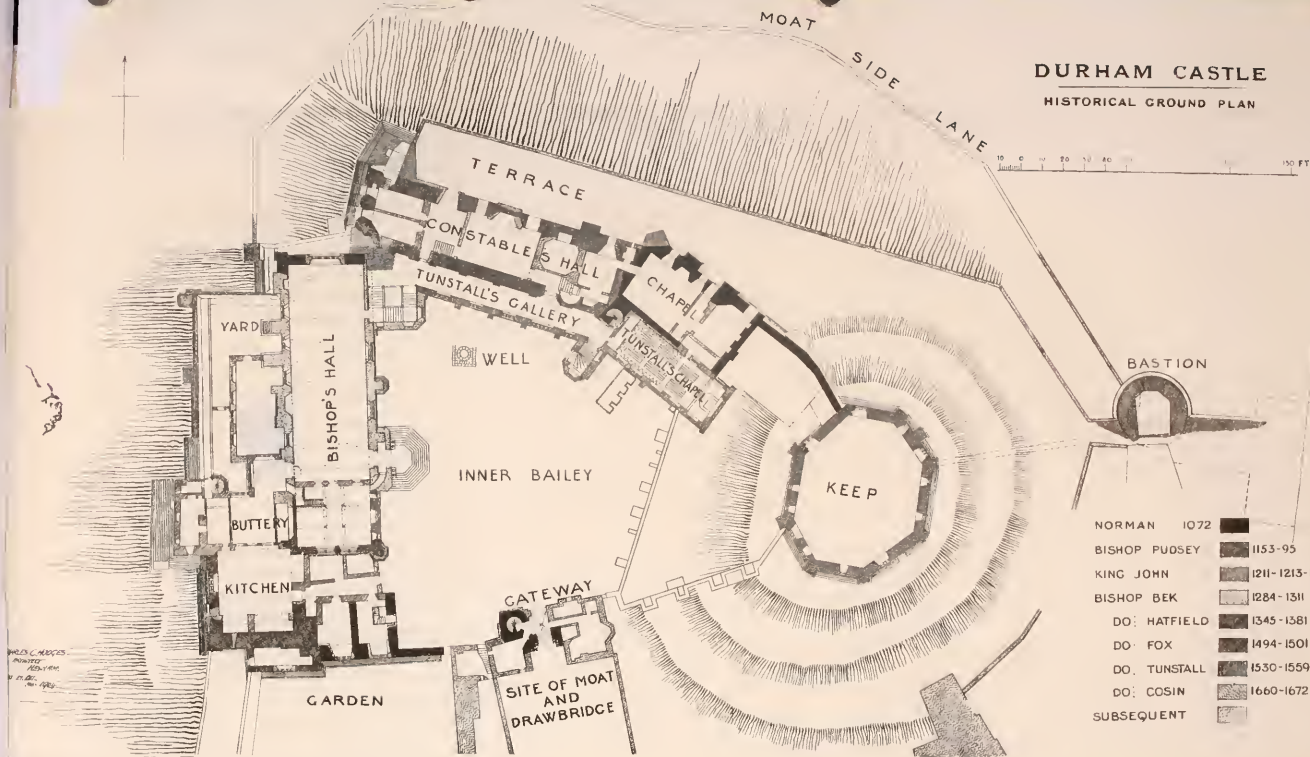
ABBEY OF
SAINT AGATHA
JUXTA
RICHMOND
1886.



W H St John Hope
Excav mens et del.

DURHAM CASTLE

HISTORICAL GROUND PLAN



remained perfect, with an interesting fragment of the south aisle; but all else had been destroyed. The grandly situated castle was next visited, under the guidance of Mr. Hope, who explained that it was still enclosed by the rubble walls, with herringbone work in places, erected by its founder, Earl Alan, before 1086. To him was also due the small chapel in one of the mural towers, and the remarkable hall in the south-east corner of the bailey, with its coupled window lights. The early date claimed for these buildings by Mr. Hope was confirmed by Mr. Bilson, who said that the carved capitals of the original entrance, now within the great tower, with volutes over a row of leaves, are precisely the same character as some in the nave of Saint-Étienne at Caen, and the cushion capitals are without mitres at the angles, like the earliest of those in the wall-arcades at Durham cathedral. The latter characteristic is found also in the capitals of the wall arcades in the chapel. There could be no doubt too as to the early date of the great hall. The great tower, which forms so striking a feature of the castle, was shown by Mr. Hope to have been built over and outside of the original early entrance, probably by earl Conan, who died in 1171, and from an entry on the Pipe Roll for 1171-2 to have been completed the year after his death, while the castle was in the king's hands. Mr. Hope also referred to the information afforded as to the old arrangements of the castle by an early fifteenth century drawing of it in the Register of the honour of Richmond, and by an elaborate survey made, in view of its repair, in 1537-8. The day's proceedings concluded with a visit to the parish church, which was described by Mr. Peers. On Tuesday evening the whole of the plate belonging to the University, Corporation and guilds of Freemen was on view at the castle, which was described by Mr. Hope.

Wednesday, July 29th.

The last day of the meeting was actually an extra day for visits to Hexham abbey, Aydon castle, and the excavations in progress on the site of the Roman town of Corstopitum, near Corbridge. On arrival at Hexham the members were received at the abbey church by the rector, Canon Savage, who referred briefly to the works now being carried out in the building and to the new nave lately added, from the designs of Mr. Temple Moore. Those members, he said, who visited Hexham abbey twenty-six years ago could not but be struck by the changes that have occurred in the interval. Yesterday, on the first occasion for centuries, probably not since the Early English fabric was built, the old pilgrims' way into the crypt was once again open, as it will be for the future, thus giving easy access to what is without doubt one of the most remarkable ecclesiastical interiors in England. And remarkable was another coincidence, that just prior to the visit of the Institute to the north on this occasion, there should have been discovered the apse of St. Wilfrid's church. Built in 674 these remains, wonderfully preserved, were discovered under the quire floor last May, and round them a remarkable group of Saxon graves. The finding of the apse has given an added interest to the ancient frith stool, the *cathedra* of the kings and bishops of Northumbria, the stool of peace, and the chair of sanctuary, which formerly stood in St. Wilfrid's

apse. The new nave itself, now completed, makes Hexham a complete church from end to end for the first time since the fourteenth century.

Mr. C. C. Hodges next gave an account of the architectural history, and conducted the party round the building. Some remarks were added by Sir Henry Howorth and Mr. Francis Bond, and by Mr. Aymer Vallance, who called attention to the recent destruction of the ancient staircase within the choir screen and to the cutting out and hinging of the hitherto fixed panels of the screen itself to provide a view from the nave.

After luncheon the party drove to Aydon castle, a very perfect example of a fortified manor-house of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with the living-rooms all on the first floor, the features of which were described by Mr. W. H. Knowles. The journey was next continued to the site of the excavations at Corstopitum, where Mr. R. H. Forster and Mr. Cheesman described the works now in progress under their direction. A very perfect and interesting fountain-base, discovered late last year, has again been opened out and further explored, and two large granaries west of it have also been uncovered. One of these is constructed of exceptionally well-built ashlar, and had mullioned loops to ventilate the drying channels beneath the stone floor. To the east of the fountain a massive arch, lying just as it fell, had been partly uncovered, with numbers on the stones to mark the order of their building. In the course of the excavations, which have only just been begun for the season, besides the usual finds of pottery, etc., a number of interesting architectural and sculptured fragments have already come to light, including a large slab with the bust of a sun-god or emperor, another with part of the figure of a horse, and sundry portions of moulded stonework.

With the visit to Corstopitum the Durham meeting ended. The weather throughout, with the exception of the day at Barnard Castle, was delightfully fine, and the success of the meeting may be measured by the fact that upwards of 120 members and their friends took part in it. The arrangements, planned by the local secretary, Mr. W. H. Knowles, were excellent in every way.

Wednesday, November 4th, 1908.

Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, *Vice-President*, in the chair.

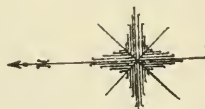
The Chairman referred to the loss which the Institute had sustained through the recent death of Mr. G. E. Fox, M.A., F.S.A., one of its Vice-Presidents.

Mr. William Davidson read a paper on "Norfolk Screens and their Paintings," with lantern slides and a number of coloured detail drawings of examples.

The paper contained a general description of the subjects represented on the screens of Norfolk, and dealt with their colour schemes, the main features of which were a harmonious combination of red, white,

AYDON CASTLE NORTHERLAND

SCALE OF FEET



- 1st. period C. 1280.
- 2nd " " 1305.
- 3rd " "
- 4th " "
- Carnaby 17 C.
- Uncertain

WHKHOWLES-MENS-ETDEL

1681

green and gold, the effect of which was heightened by bands of gesso and inlaid leaden stars. The author was of opinion that the screens of Norfolk were painted by an English school of artists, but that their work showed traces of influence by Italian art, probably through Flemish channels.

A large number of coloured drawings, reproducing the colour values of the designs as originally painted, added greatly to the interest of the paper.

In the discussion which followed, Sir Charles Holroyd said that it was satisfactory to think that these screens represented the work of an English school.

Mr. Francis Bond welcomed the growing interest which was being taken in church screens; he testified to the excellent work being done by Mr. Davidson, and expressed a hope that some means would be found of preserving and publishing the results of Mr. Davidson's efforts to record the paintings in their original colours.

Mr. Aymer Vallance called the attention of the meeting to the fact that Norfolk screens, unlike those found in other parts of the country, were designed specially for decorative painting: this fact explaining their extreme lightness, height, openness and "subarcuated" character, whereas, elsewhere, the screens relied for their effect upon their architectural features alone.

Mr. Vallance pointed out that in one of the screens referred to, St. Stephen and St. Lawrence were represented wearing dalmatics of a type not adopted outside England, and in his opinion, this fact supported the view that the paintings were the work of English artists. The speaker called attention to the very rare painting of St. John, represented on the fourteenth-century screen at Edinthorpe, bearing the golden palm. He also reminded the meeting that St. Cytha, a secular, usually represented bearing a bunch of keys, was the same as St. Zita of Luca, the saint of the household, and must not be confused with the religious known as St. Osyth.

Mr. P. M. Johnston re-echoed the hope expressed by Mr. Francis Bond that the detail drawings so carefully prepared by Mr. Davidson might be published. With negligent and indifferent custodians, year by year the originals were fading away. The Chairman thought that more light might be thrown upon the origins of the paintings: the view that some of them, at any rate, were painted by subscription, would appear to be supported by the inscription on the screen at Cawston. He was also of opinion that a systematic tabulation of the paintings, in relation to their date and authorship, would also be of great value: in a recent visit to Norfolk, he had noticed the screens in the three churches of North Elham, Stanton and Thornham, all of which were clearly the work of one man. The information was only awaiting a careful search in the magnificent series of early wills preserved at Norwich.

Mr. Davidson briefly replied, and stated that it was his intention to devote next summer to a tabulation of the screens from the point of view of their authorship.

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded the author of the paper.

Wednesday, December 2nd, 1908.

Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

In the absence of the author, the Honorary Acting Secretary read "A Note on a Leaden Font at Haresfield, Gloucestershire," by Mr. A. C. Fryer, M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A., illustrated by a lantern slide of the bowl.

The paper is printed at page 287 of the *Journal*.

Mr. Francis Bond suggested that the bowl could not be dated earlier than the seventeenth century. In his opinion, the bowl in question betrayed a post-Reformation character, when the spirit had departed from the art of the Gothic craftsman. In support of this opinion he pointed out the inartistic way in which certain diagonal lines, well shown in the illustration facing page 287, run right across the vertical shafts. Mr. Garraway Rice also spoke.

The Rev. H. Bedford Pim, M.A., exhibited a series of about eighty slides of St. David's Cathedral, to which he added some explanatory notes. Mr. Pim raised several points during the exhibition, which he invited the members to discuss. The first of these arose out of the so-called tomb of bishop Morgan, of Bath stone, quite different from the effigy—which was of Painswick stone. The latter undoubtedly represented a bishop, while the initials T.W. on the tomb were, as had been suggested by Mr. Bligh Bond, very probably those of one John Wogan, a great benefactor to the church. The name Wogan was some times spelt Worgan in Cornwall and so perhaps created confusion with Morgan.

A second point was that the large ruined building of the college, frequently described in guide books as a chapel, was actually the frater of the canons who lived there, and whose chapel was the cathedral church itself.

It was also pointed out that the very remarkable open arcaded parapet, which surmounted the walls of the palace, had its counterpart at Swansea castle.

A point was made of the coastwise connection between St. David's and Bristol: Bristol masons worked at Dublin, and the great similarity visible between the work at St. David's, at Bristol and Glastonbury was evidence in favour of the existence of a great West-of-England school of architecture.

Mr. Herbert Jones exhibited a photograph of the west front of St. David's before the restoration, which was interesting as showing in the foreground Dr. Basil Jones, the bishop of St. David's, Canon Allen, Sir Gilbert Scott and Professor E. W. Freeman.

Messrs. W. H. Fox, P. M. Johnston, Francis Bond, W.P. D. Stebbing, and the Chairman, took part in the discussion, after which a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Pim for his interesting exhibition.

Obituary.

WILLIAM OLIVER ROPER, F.S.A.

Mr. Roper was born in Lancaster (of which his father was once mayor) in August, 1855, and was educated at the Lancaster Grammar School. After being admitted a solicitor, he became Deputy Town Clerk of Lancaster, in 1883. On the retirement of Mr. Thomas Swainson, in 1892, he was appointed Town Clerk, and held that position until his retirement in 1896. His death occurred on September 16th, 1908, at Yealand Conyers, Carnforth.

Mr. Roper was always a student of antiquarian subjects, and his mind was saturated with the history of his native town and district. He was an officer of all the local societies, was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries on March 4th, 1897.

His publications include :—

- 1880. Harington Monument in Cartmel Church.
- 1883. The Charters of Lancaster.
- 1885-90. Lancaster and English History.
- 1886. Cockersand Abbey.
- 1886. The Missing History of Warton.
- 1887. Notes on an Inscribed Stone at Caton.
- 1889. Hornby Castle and Church.
- 1890. The Churches, Castles and Halls of North Lancashire.
- 1890. The Daltons of Thurnham.
- 1890. Warton Church.
- 1892-1907. Materials for the History of the Church of Lancaster.
- 1894. Cartmel Church.
- 1894. On the Value of Archaeology in Legal Matters.
- 1895. Borwick Hall.
- 1896. Lancaster School.
- 1898. The Manors of Halton.
- 1903. Abbeystead in Wyresdale and its endowed School.
- 1907. Materials for the History of Lancaster.

In 1898, when the Institute visited Lancaster, Mr. Roper acted as local secretary, published a special guide to Lancaster and the district, and read a most interesting paper on "The Charters of Lancaster," which was subsequently printed in the *Journal*. The archaeological world is much the poorer by his death.

T. CANN HUGHES.

GEORGE EDWARD FOX, Hon. M.A. Oxon., F.S.A.

Mr. George Edward Fox was born in Norwich in 1833, and there educated. Leaving his native city he spent some time in London, and then travelled extensively in Italy, studying for his future career as an artist architect. In this capacity he subsequently carried out extensive schemes for decoration at Eastnor Castle for Earl Somers, at Warwick Castle for the earl of Warwick, at Longleat for the marquess of Bath, at Meaford for Lady Forester, at Dorchester House for Mr. Holford, and at many other places. The grand pianoforte and seat designed by Mr. Fox for Sir Lawrence Alma Tadema is well known, having been frequently illustrated and described. Mr. Fox also designed and executed some of the tombs to the Russells, dukes of Bedford, in their mortuary chapel at Chenies. After his retirement from active professional life, Mr. Fox devoted much of his leisure time to antiquarian work. In 1883 he joined the Royal Archaeological Institute and contributed many papers to the *Journal*, mostly relating to the period of the Roman occupation of Britain. His principal papers on this subject include—

The Roman Villa at Chedworth.
Roman Remains Found at Leicester.
Roman Norfolk.
Silchester.
Roman Coast Fortresses of Kent.
Uriconium, and
Roman Suffolk.

On medieval subjects his most noteworthy paper was one on the painted screens and roofs of Norfolk churches. In 1886 Mr. Fox was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and frequently contributed to that body papers on his favourite subjects, which are printed in *Archæologia* and *Proceedings*. In 1889 Mr. Fox, in conjunction with Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, brought before the Society a scheme for the complete and systematic excavation of the Roman city at Silchester. This was warmly taken up by the Society with the result that the work within the walls is now

finished, although, alas ! Mr. Fox died without seeing its final accomplishment. In 1894 the University of Oxford marked its sense of Mr. Fox's work by conferring upon him the honorary degree of a Master of Arts, an honour which he greatly valued and appreciated, and the town of Reading appointed him an honorary curator of the Silchester section of its museum. Although failing health compelled him to retire from active field work at Silchester, he never lost his interest in the excavations, and to the last was always ready with advice and direction as to the conduct of the work. Almost one of his last appearances was a visit to the Silchester exhibition in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries in June last. Although of a quiet and retiring nature Mr. Fox was an ideal companion, and readily placed his vast knowledge, not only of Roman and medieval antiquities, but also of art, at the service of anyone working on such subjects. All who were associated with him profited from his great experience and knowledge. Mr. Fox passed quietly away on the morning of October 7th last. Peace to his ashes.

M. S.

THOMAS HENRY BAYLIS, V.D., K.C., M.A., F.S.A.

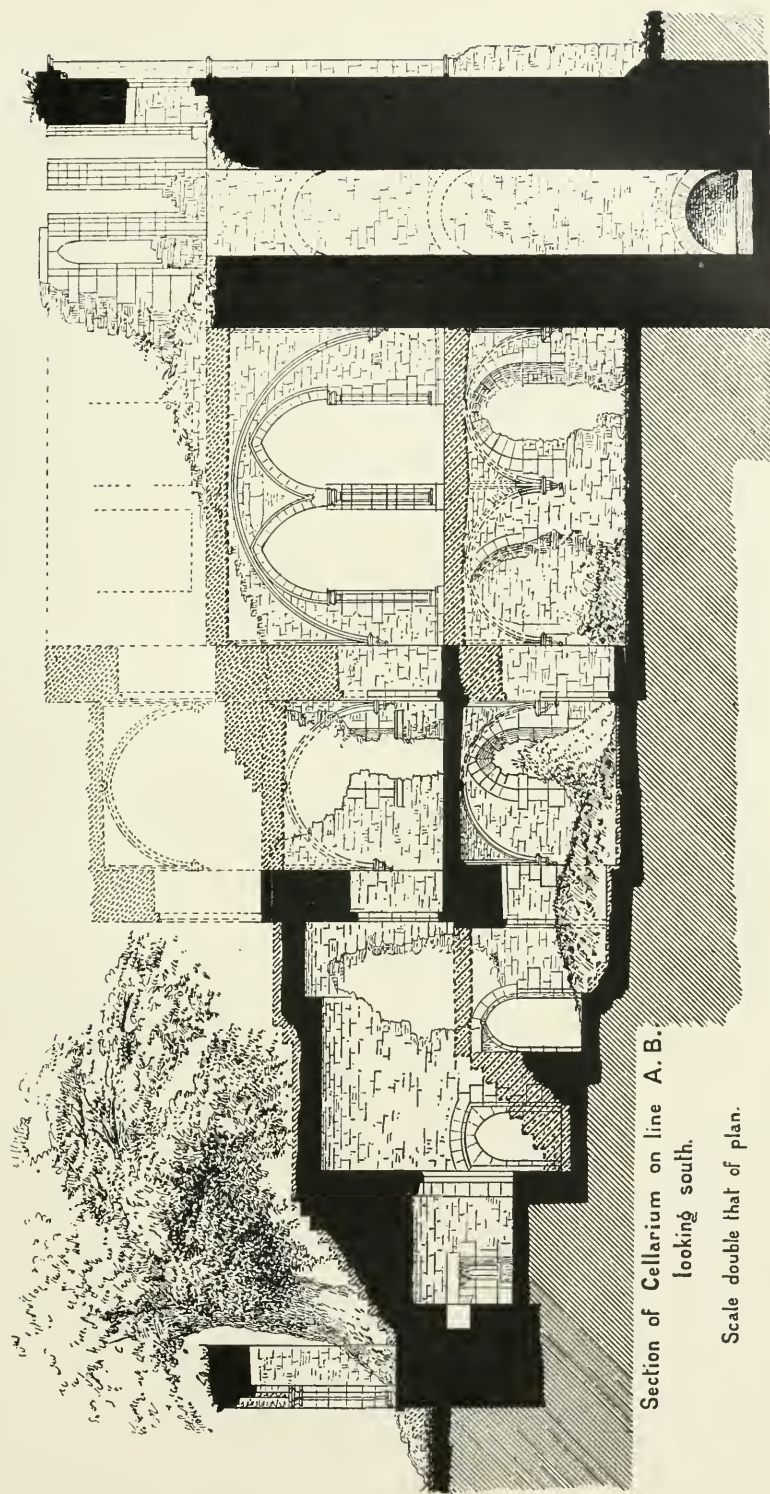
The Institute has recently lost some of its oldest veterans. It is assuredly a proof of the rejuvenating influence of archaeological studies that two of our members should have been able to attend our meetings till they were over ninety years old. A short time ago we gave an account in these pages of one of them, our late treasurer, Mr. Hilton. I now propose to say a few words about another one, Judge Baylis. Thomas Henry Baylis was born on the 22nd of June, 1817. He went to Harrow in 1825, and was there with Cardinal Manning and Anthony Trollope, and to Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1837, where he had won an open scholarship, and where he took his M.A. degree in 1841. He joined the Inner Temple in June, 1834, but remained a special pleader for fifteen years, and was not called to the Bar

till 1856. He then joined the Northern Circuit, where he had a large practice in commercial cases, and took silk in 1875, was elected a Benchler of the Inner Temple two years later, and became Treasurer in 1899. From 1876 until 1903 he was judge of the Passage Court at Liverpool.

His versatility and alertness were remarkable, and he was interested in many fields. Thus he took part in the suppression of the Chartist riots in 1848, and when the Volunteer movement was started he joined it, and presently became the colonel of the Paddington regiment: with his father he was one of the founders of the Fire Brigade. Among his publications the best known was an interesting account of the Temple Church, which saw several editions. He knew every corner of it, and was a most regular attendant at its services. His acquaintance with John Pascoe, the signal officer of the victory at Trafalgar, led him to write a small polemical book on Nelson's famous signal, a subject on which he was always prepared to have a discussion. He also wrote a well-known handbook on the law of domestic servants.

He was widely interested in archaeology, and had been an intelligent traveller in eastern lands, and used to boast that he had bathed both in the Red Sea and the Jordan. He had been a member of the Archaeological Institute for many years, and no face was more familiar or welcome at our meetings both in London and in the country, where he often took part in discussions, which he illuminated by odd and unexpected information. His sharp alert eye and his restless activity were not more remarkable than the urbanity and gentleness with which he treated all whom he met, young and old, gentle and simple. He had a great many friends who well remember his fine handsome face, and who will miss his evergreen temperament and his gentle personality, and none more so than his old pupil and friend the President.

H. H. H.



Section of Cellarium on line A. B.
looking south.

Scale double that of plan.

ST. AGATHA'S ABBEY, RICHMOND.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

A CHART OF THE ARTS IN ENGLAND, FROM 1660 TO 1800.
20 × 12½, 3 pp. Lenygon and Co., Ltd., 31, Old Burlington Street, W.
2s. 6d. net.

This "Chart" consists of a series of parallel columns showing in chronological order, a column to an art, the principal achievements in literature and architecture, and the names of the principal exponents of painting, sculpture, engraving and the minor arts and crafts from 1660 to 1800. It is only in the case of literature and architecture that particular works are specified; in the case of the other arts we have only the names of the artists. Other columns show the principal events in history and continental arts. The columns are divided by cross lines into spaces representing periods of ten years. One can thus see at a glance the state of all the arts in any decade. The scheme is a useful one, and should be invaluable to anyone wishing to study all the influences, contemporary or historical, that have gone to mould a particular artist or a particular school.

In the execution we note a few matters that seem to call for revision. For example, in the list of continental painters for the decade 1660-1670 we miss the name of Pieter de Hooch. There can be no question that de Hooch's merit entitles him to inclusion; he survived till the later seventies, and so notable an example as his "Dutch Courtyard," National Gallery, No. 794, is dated from the middle sixties. The omission, therefore, seems to be an oversight. Again, the list of important architectural works in England might be extended with advantage, and there are some omissions in the column of "General Works of Literature published in England." In particular we have in some cases no mention of the later writings of authors whose work extended over a lengthy period. For example, we should gather from the Chart that Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's letter-writing was over by 1720; there is no hint of the fact that she was still delighting her correspondents forty years on and more. Again, the Chart is silent as to Burke's later work, though the *French Revolution*, from its intrinsic importance alone, surely deserves to be mentioned. It is, of course, impossible in a work of this sort to give a complete conspectus of all the works, or even of all the periods, of an author, but omissions of this nature certainly impair the usefulness of the Chart. There is one curious blunder, Wolfe's *Burial of Sir John Moore* is assigned by some oversight to 1720.

We trust to see the matters we have noted remedied in the second edition, which the chart certainly merits. In a work covering so wide a field some few blemishes were only to be expected, and on the whole the editing seems as careful as the design is useful. The Chart reflects great credit on Messrs. Lenygon and Co., and will, we are convinced, be widely appreciated by students.

THE ARCHITECTURAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL RECORD. Vol. I. No. 2. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 6. 92 pp. Issued by the Architectural and Topographical Society, 33, Old Queen Street, Westminster. June, 1908.

The second issue of this new journal, the first number of which we had the pleasure of welcoming this summer, fully maintains the character of its predecessor, and is extremely well got up. A feature of this publication is the absence of half-tone illustrations, reliance being placed entirely on line drawings, which, with diagrammatic precision, convey all that is required.

The present number contains a complete record of all buildings of interest in the several parishes of Dorney in Bucks, Studland and Church Knowle in Dorset, and Dromcliffe and Quin in county Clare.

We note, with some amusement, that Mr. Conor O'Brien, who joins with Mr. Wilfrid Travers in the description of the first of these parishes, signs his name as Conchubhar Ua Briain, when dealing with the Irish parishes.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF NUBIA. Bulletin No. 2, dealing with the work from December 1st, 1907, to March 31st, 1908. Survey Department, Cairo, 1908.

The survey of Nubia, which the coming inundation above Aswan has made advisable, is proceeding at a rapid rate.

Eleven cemeteries were explored and recorded by the end of November, 1907, in the first bulletin of this series. A further forty-six are here described. The area surveyed stretches from Aswan Dam to Bab el-Kalabsha, and the date of the discoveries ranges from the earliest pre-dynastic times to the present day. Though the work is still incomplete, the material seems to warrant the conclusion that Nubia was dominated by Egyptian influence down to early dynastic times. Isolation from Egypt and Negroid elements seems to have then commenced, and to have lasted till the beginning of the New Empire, when the country again came under the influence of Egyptian culture, an influence which persisted until the introduction of Christianity.

The general report is accompanied by two very interesting papers on the anatomical and pathological aspects of the cemeteries excavated.

The following archaeological publications have been received by the Institute :—

Archaeologia Aeliana. 3rd Series, Vol. IV, 1908.

Archaeologia Cambrensis. 6th Series, Vol. VIII, Part 3. 1908, and supplement.

Bedford Arts Club Publications, *Chantry Certificates for Bedfordshire*, by J. E. Brown, and *Institutions of Chantry Priests*, by F. A. Page Turner. 1908.

Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Vol. XXXVIII, Parts 2 and 3. 1908.

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Report of the Council for the year 1907-1908.

The Council has the honour of presenting its report for the year 1907-1908, being the sixty-sixth since the foundation of the Institute. The cash account, prepared as usual by the Chartered Accountant, shows £673 13s. 10d. on the credit side, and an expenditure of £471 9s. 3d. leaving a cash balance at the Bankers and in hand of £202 4s. 7d.

The investments now consist of £1,500 Metropolitan $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Stock.

All charges appertaining to the year are paid.

A copy of the account is appended.

The sum of £15 5s. 0d. has been granted towards excavations during the past year.

Four Members' subscriptions are in arrear for the year 1907-1908.

The three years' term of office of Sir Henry Howorth, K.C.I.E., D.C.L. F.R.S., F.S.A., as President, has expired, and the Council has much pleasure in recommending his re-election for a further term.

The Senior Vice-President, Mr. Mill Stephenson, F.S.A., retires by rotation, and the Council recommends the Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A., F.S.A., to be the new Vice-President. The members who retire in rotation under the new rule are Messrs. C. A. Bradford, F.S.A., and T. T. Greg, M.A., F.S.A., Professor F. Haverfield, M.A., LL.D., F.S.A., Rev. H. V. Le Bas, Messrs. Walter Rowley, F.S.A., and J. H. Etherington-Smith, M.A., F.S.A.

Vacancies have also been created by the death of Mr. R. E. Goolden, F.S.A., by the appointment of Sir Edward Brabrook, C.B., V.P.S.A., as Honorary Treasurer, and by the recommendation of the Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A., F.S.A., as a Vice-President. To fill the new vacancies thus caused, the Council recommend the names of Sir George J. Armytage, Bart., F.S.A., Messrs. W. Heward Bell, F.S.A., A. P. Boyson, L. L. Duncan, M.V.O., F.S.A., A. E. Hudd, F.S.A., W. H. Knowles, F.S.A., C. Lynam, F.S.A., F. G. Hilton Price, Dir.S.A., and J. Challenor Smith, F.S.A.

The number of new subscribing Members elected during 1907 is thirty-five, of whom one is a life compounder, and the loss by resignation was one, and by death six, one being a life compounder. Amongst these the Council regrets to record the death of Sir John Evans, K.C.B., F.R.S., F.S.A., an antiquary of world-wide fame, who had been a member since 1861; of Mr. R. H. Wood, who was elected in 1866; of Mr. R. E. Goolden, F.S.A., who had for some time served upon our Council; and of Mr. J. Brooking Rowe, F.S.A., elected in 1873.

Since the last Report, as already notified in the Journal, the Institute has lost by death Mr. James Hilton, F.S.A., who so long and faithfully served the office of Honorary Treasurer, and who as a token of his goodwill bequeathed to the Institute the sum of £200; this sum has been received from the executors since the close of the account and the Council has decided to invest it as a nucleus for a Research Fund.

The Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1907.

Dr.

Cr.

INCOME.		£	s.	d.	EXPENDITURE.		£	s.	d.
To Cash Balances per last Account:—					By Publishing Account—				
General ...	...	194	9	8	Harrison and Sons, Printing, Postage and Delivery of Journal (including Vol. LXIV, Part 256) ...		162	11	9
Re Index ...	...	50	0	0	Illustrations and Engravings for Journal ...		102	14	11
					Bindings ...		1	8	6
" Subscriptions—									266 15 2
1 " 294 Annual Subscriptions at £1 1s. ...	...	308	14	0	House Account—				
1 " " at 10s. 6d. ...	...	0	10	6	Rent of Offices ...		40	0	0
295 Together received during year ...	...				Lighting and firing ...		5	0	0
4 Subscriptions paid in advance in the year 1906 ...	...				Stationery and Sundry Printing ...		51	6	4
7 " in arrear at 31st December, 1907 ...	...				Office Apparatus ...		5	4	0
306 Total annual subscriptions at 31st December, 1907.					Congress of Archaeological Societies ...		1	0	0
					Sundries ...		4	8	0
									106 18 4
Arrears as under paid in 1907—					Petty Cash—				
For the year 1906, 4 at £1 1s. ...	...	4	4	0	Postage and Telegrams ...		4	18	5
" Subscriptions paid in advance—					Insurance ...		0	3	0
For the year 1908, 14 at £1 1s. ...	...	14	14	0	Stationery and Office Expenses ...		1	10	8
					Editorial Expenses ...		3	10	3
" Life Compositions ...	...				Sundries ...		14	16	0
" Entrance Fees ...	...								
" Sale of Publications ...	...				Grants:—				
" Donations, General ...	...				For Excavations—				
Special for Illustrations:—					Red Hills ...		5	5	0
Prof. B. Lewis, M.A., F.S.A. ...	...	3	13	5	Stroud ...		5	0	0
Miss Prideaux ...	...	5	0	0	Haugmond Abbey ...		5	0	0
									15 5 0
Dividends on Investments:—£1,500 Metropolitan 2½ per cent. Stock ...	...				Rev. E. H. Goddard re Index... ..		57	12	3
Colchester Meeting:—Profit ...	...								72 17 3
					Cash Balance—				
					At Bankers ...		196	4	0
					In hand ...		6	0	7
									202 4 7
									£673 13 10

We hereby certify that we have prepared the above Cash Account for the year ended 31st December, 1907, and that the same agrees with the Cash and Bankers' Pass Books of the Institute. Further, we have examined the payments made during the period with the Vouchers produced, and find the same in order.

Examined and found correct,

H. MILLS BRANFORD & Co.,
Chartered Accountants.
3, Broad Street Buildings,
London, E.C., 5th June, 1908.

AMBROSE P. BOYSON, Hon. Auditor.



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